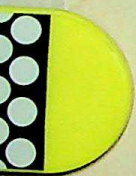




## RĀJAPŪTA POLITY







# RAJAPŪTA POLITY

[ Political System of the Early Medieval India ]

*by*

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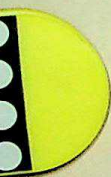
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To  
THE LOVERS OF RĀJAPŪTA HISTORY  
&  
CULTURE





To  
THE LOVERS OF RAJASTHAN HISTORY  
&  
CULTURE  
BY  
DR. RAMESH CHANDRA



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## INTRODUCTION

जीवितं मानमूलं हि माने म्लाने कुतः सुखम्

Rājapūta Polity is, here, presented in three sections. The Buddha and Vassakāra, were the historical personalities. Republics existed and executed state-business on the basis of concord and constitution. The fact that Vassakāra employed the policy of mithubheda (dissension and disunity) shows the state of polity in the age of the Buddha. The traditions continued.

Dr. Smith observed that "In political institutions no evolution took place" after Harsha's death (E. H. I., p 371). Dr. Jayaswal also believed, "That the period after 700 A. C. is a period of darkness and disruption. Popular institutions decayed and Hindu tradition dwindled" (Hindu Polity, 1955, p. 351). I do not accept it. Section I of this book refers to the salient features of the Hindu Medieval India. Dr. Jayaswal discussed the word *vīra* (*śūra*), identifying it with Yaudheya (Hindu Polity, p. 143). *Vīra* and *śūra*, as explained in the Yogavāsishṭha, represent the person solely devoted to the protection of his sacred land. Yaudheyas' life based on liberty, equality and patriotism was upheld by Somadeva Sūri in the early Medieval India (Read my '*History of the Yaudheyas*'). In this section—Rājapūta India—I have here dealt with the political system of the Garuḍa Purāṇa (pp. 12-14), which presents a true picture of India on the eve of Turkish conquest of Northern India. It gives new traits and thoughts. We have to interpret the title of Bhāratesvara, given to Prithivīrāja III in the light of the contemporary concept of *vīra* and *vīra-dharma*.

Section II discusses the salient features of the Hindu Medieval Thought. Section III discusses the collapse of the Hindu power. I have taken liberties to present Dr. Ghoshal's observations and arguments to shield myself from the unpleasant task of censuring the vague generalisations and speculations particularly the one relating to the so called 'decadent period'. There is vigour and *vyaṅga* in literature. There is message in sculpture and coins. Symbols speak.



I think, the teachers of Medieval Indian History, so far relying upon the Muslim Chronicles, must read it to assess the other side of the picture. I have not added any thing of my own. I followed the texts and the evidences are cited at every step. Still as a student of Indian History, I have kept my mind open without any bias or prejudice.

Indian culture is composite in its character. It kept its doors and windows ajar. The currents of thought came in from different countries and corners. No body can deny the debt modern India owes to the West for its scientific outlook. But all the races and nations do not travel by the same track.

Mahāmati Vidura, (Ādi P., CVIII. 17) was well-versed in Dhanurveda, Aśva-Vidyā (riding), Gadā-yuddha, Swords-manship, Gaja-śikshā and Nītiśāstra (Ādi P., CVIII, 19) as well as in the Itihāsa-Purāṇas, Veda-Vedāṅgas and in various types of Śikshās (Ādi P., CVIII. 20). He was a great political thinker, who advised Dhṛitarāshṭra to denounce Duryodhana for the safety and security of the country. He asserts :

एकेन कुरु वै क्षेमं कुलस्य जगतस्तथा ।

त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थं ग्रामस्यार्थं कुलं त्यजेत् ॥ आदिपर्व, ११४ । ३८

ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थं आत्मार्थं पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥ वही, ११४ । ३९ (१)

Vidura's political philosophy based on the policy of renunciation has been upheld in the Early Medieval India. Garuḍa Purāṇa ( I. 109. 2 ), too, upholds this ideal of sacrifice for the sake of higher and nobler cause. Vidura championed the role of sabhā and sabhyās in the preservation of Dharma, Law and Right (Sabhā P., LXIII. 59-64).

Vidulā, a kshatriya princess, well-versed in different śāstras, infused new blood in the heart of her son defeated by Sindhu-rāja (Udyoga P, CXXXIII. 3-4). She urged the dejected prince :—

माऽऽत्मानमवमन्यस्व मैनमल्पेन बीभरः ।

मनः कृत्वा सुकल्याणं मा भैस्त्वं प्रतिसंहर ॥ उद्योग पर्व, १३३।७

उत्तिष्ठ हे कापुरुष मा शेष्वैवं पराजितः ।

अमित्रान् नन्दयन् सर्वान् निर्मानो बन्धुशोकदः ॥ वही, १३३ । ८

अप्यहेराजन् दंष्ट्रामाश्वेव निधनं व्रज ।

अपि वा संशयं प्राप्य जीवितेऽपि पराक्रमेः ॥ वही, १३३ । १०



अप्यरेः श्येनवच्छिद्रं पश्येस्त्वं विपरिक्रमन् ।

विनदन् वाथवा तूष्णीं व्योम्नि वापरिशंकितः ॥ वही, १३३ । ११

.....

.....

अलब्ध्वा यदि वा लब्ध्वा नानुशोचति पण्डितः ।

आनन्तर्यं चारभते न प्राणानां धनायते ॥ वही, १३३ । १७

Thus Rājapūta Polity is the expression of the Rājapūta philosophy of life, based on the immortality of soul (Philosophy of Gītā) and it was inspired by Simha-Vikrama. Vidulā advised her son to wait in the hills and to secure allies till Sindhu-rāja (king of Sind), his enemy, was trapped in calamity :

उद्धावयस्व वीर्यं वा तां गच्छ ध्रुवांगति ।

धर्मं पुत्राग्रतः कृत्वा किं निमित्तं हि जीवसि ॥ उद्योग पर्व, १३३।१८

The mother Vidulā would see her son only when he returned victorious after destroying the Saindhavas :

अथ त्वां पूजयिष्यामि हत्वा वै सर्वसैन्धवान् ।

अहं पश्यामि विजयं कुच्छ्रभावितमेव ते ॥ उद्योग पर्व, १३५।२१

Such were the female-thinkers, styled *pariṇataprajñā*, belonging to heroic race of the kshatriyas, who propagated philosophy of politics (Udyoga P, CXXXV. 25-40, CXXXVI. 1-8).

Mahābhārata discusses the origin of kingship (Rājā)<sup>1</sup> and the State (Rājya)<sup>2</sup>. With the decline of virtue and piety (Veda and Dharma), there grew terror in the hearts of the gods i. e. saintly beings. Moved by their entreaties, Loka-Pitāmaha (Brahmā) had composed a political treatise comprising a hundred thousand adhyāyas (chapters) dealing with *trivarga*, as well as Trayī, Vārtā, Ānvikshikī and Daṇḍa-nīti.<sup>3</sup> This Nītiśāstra—śubham śāstram—which aimed at the promotion

1. Śānti P. LIX. 5 :

य एष राजन् राजेति शब्दश्चरति भारत ।

कथमेष समुत्पन्नस्तन्मे ब्रूहि परंतप ॥

2. Ibid., LIX. 13 :

नियतस्त्वं नरव्याघ्र शृणु सर्वमशेषतः ।

यथा राज्यं समुत्पन्नमादौ कृतयुगेऽभवत् ॥

3. Ibid., LIX. 29-33.



of piety and preservation of Law for the welfare of the people, was the outcome of great intellectual deliberation :

उपकाराय लोकस्य त्रिवर्गस्थापनाय च ।

नवनीतं सरस्वत्या बुद्धिरेषा प्रभाविता ॥<sup>1</sup>

Based on the essence of *śāṅgūṇya* and commended by the sages it discussed Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha.<sup>2</sup> It was, first of all, grasped by Śiva styled *Viśālāksha* :

ततस्तां भगवान् नीतिं पूर्वं जग्राह शंकरः ।

बहुरूपो विशालाक्षः शिवः स्थानुरमापतिः ॥<sup>3</sup>

Śiva-*Viśālāksha* reduced it to ten thousand chapters, consequently, styled *Vaiśālāksha* (Śānti P., LIX. 81, 82). Later on, Indra rendered it into an other abridged treatise of five thousand chapters and it was called *Bāhudantkaṁ* (Śānti, P., LIX. 82-i, 83). Bṛhaspati abridged it again into a treatise of three thousand chapters called *Bārhaspatyaṁ* (Śānti, P., LIX. 84). Śukra (Kāvya) turned it into one thousand *adhyāyas* (Śānti P., LIX. 85). It represents the evolution of *Nīti-śāstra* or *Daṇḍa-nīti* in the different ages at the hands of the sages and saints, most probably in the country of *Sārasvata* (Śānti P., LIX. 111). Here the encyclopaedic epic refers to the different schools of political philosophy. *Vaiśālāksha*, or *Māheśvara* school, was held high even in the age of Chand Baradāi. Śiva is also believed to be the founder of the Philosophy of Yoga. The Buddha's thesis of equality is well-known. *Jātakas* uphold the elective nature of kingship and *Bodhisattva*, the future Buddha, attracts the people who offered the exalted office of kingship to the former. The *Śākya*n or *Vajjian* assemblies are well-known for their regular meetings as well as democratic traditions.

Bhīshma ascribes the collapse of a *republic* to disunity and dissension (*bhedamūla vināśāya hi*);<sup>4</sup> the strength and stability of a *gaṇarājya* lies in unity (*gaṇāḥ saṅghātavṛttayaḥ*).<sup>5</sup>

1. Śānti P., LIX. 76.

2. Ibid., LIX. 79.

3. Ibid., LIX. 80.

4. Ibid., CVII. 8; CVII. 14

5. Ibid., CVII. 13



The importance of saṅghāta-bala and saṅghāta-vṛitti<sup>1</sup> was well-recognised. The Buddha himself asserted :

अयं जम्बुदीपो इद्धो चेव भविस्सति फीतो च ।

कुक्कुट सम्पातिता ग्राम निगम राजधानियो ॥

Dīghanikāya III, p. 59.

The advent of 'Nāstikā Saindhavā Mlechchhā' in Indian history marks the beginning of the age of the crisis and catastrophe. The period following the fall of the Gupta empire witnessed the forces of disintegration. It has been aptly styled Kali age, the age of strife. When the country was thus suffering from the internecine warfare, Sind was conquered by the Arabs. Tājikas and Turushkas, Garjanakas and Ghoris threatened the north western frontiers, which they occupied. It led to the occupation of the Punjab by the Gaznavids. Mohammad Ghori, a determined and dauntless soldier, conquered Hindustan. It was thus the tragic end of Ancient India. Section I, of the Rājapūta Polity, deals with the salient features of the Rājapūta history. It is styled Rājapūta India.

Rajput Politics was published in 1964. It has gone out of stock and the demands came in for it. Hence it is published again in its revised and enlarged edition. Despite great care and caution mistakes in printing have occurred. I hope the readers will kindly excuse us, as it was published in very trying circumstances particularly due to my ill-health.

I am thankful to my printers for their enterprise.

अध्रुवो हि जयो नाम दैवं चात्र परायणम् ।

जयवन्तो हि संग्रामे कृतकृत्या भवन्ति हि ॥

Lucknow

July 29, 1968

A. B. L. Awasthi

1. Ibid., CVII. 15, 32.



## Abbreviations

AAR.	Annals And Antiquities of Rajasthan (Tod)
Anc. India.	Ancient India by Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Bh.	Bālabbhārata of Rājasekhara
BKM.	Bṛihat Kathāmañjarī of Kshemendra
CII.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DHNI.	Dynastic History of Northern India by Dr. H. C. Ray
D.K. Ch.	Daśakumāra Charita of Daṇḍī
द०कु०च०	
E.Ch D.	Early Chauhān Dynasties by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma
E.H.I.	Early History of India by Dr. V. Smith
GV.	Gauḍavāho of Vākpatirāja
H.G.P.	History of the Gurjara – Pratibhāras by Dr. B. N. Puri
H.Ch.	History of the Chāhamānas by Dr. R. B. Singh
Ibid.	Ibidum
INS.	Inscriptions
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal, U.P. Historical Society
K.	Kāṇḍa [ cf. Ayodhyā K ]
K.A.S.	Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (English Translation by Dr. Shamasastri)
K.M.	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara
KNS.	Kāmandakiya Nītisāra
KSS.	Kathāsarit Sāgara of Somadeva
LRH.	Lectures on Rajput History by Dr. A.C. Banerjee
Mbh.	Mahābhārata
MMK.	Ārya Mañju Śrī Mūlakalpa
Manu	Manu Smṛiti
MR.	Mudrārākshasa of Viśākhadatta
MVC.	Mahāvīra Charita of Bhavabhūti
NHC.	Nationalism IN HINDU Culture
N.S.Ch.	Navasāhasāṅka Charita



P.B.Ch.	}	Prabodha Chandrodaya of Kṛishṇa Misra
Prabodha Ch.		
P.		Purāṇa or Parva
P.R	}	Pṛithvirāja Rāso
Pr. Raso		
P.V.		Pṛithvirāja Vijaya of Jayānaka
R.E.		Rock Edicts
RT.		Rājatarāṅgiṇī
RV. (Rv.)		Ṛigveda
Rāja V.		Rājavilāsa of Mānakavi
Rupshtk.		Rūpakashaṭkam of Vatsarāja
Sk.		Skanda Purāṇa
St. Sk.		Studies in the Skanda Purāṇa, Part I, by Dr. A. B.L. Awasthi
URC.		Uttara Rāma Charita of Bhavabhūti
V.D., VDR.	}	Vishṇudharmottaram
Vishṇu Dh.		
YV.		Yoga Vāsishṭha









Section I

# Rājapūta India

(Northern India from 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)

In the past racial and cultural conflicts between different human groups marked the course of human history. Vedic India had to face the demoniac people headed by Vṛitra, Śambara and Namuchi etc. The conflict between the Āryans, the noble and dignified people, and the Ānāryans, the Dasyus, i.e. the persons of thievish nature, assumed the form of Devāsura saṅgrāma in the subsequent ages as is revealed by the study of the epics, the Purāṇas, and the classical Saṁskṛit works.

Devāsura saṅgrāma represents a cultural conflict between two classes of forces opposed to each other. In the post-Gupta inscriptions Kali figures as a deadly monster, who sapped the vigour and vitality of the Bhārati nation. It marked the decadence and decline in the moral standards of the society. Haraha Inscription of Īśānavarman asserts that Mukharas ( i. e. the Maukharis ) checked this trend of ethical decadence and destroyed their enemies :

दुरितवृत्तिरुधो मुखरा : क्षितीशाः क्षतारयः

Haraha Ins., verse 3 (ii)

Āchāramārga (Haraha Ins., v. 8), āchāra-viveka-mārga (Haraha Ins., v. 5), Varṇāśramāchāra (v. 6) i. e. the virtuous conduct based on Varṇāśrama dharma and Śruti-patha (v. 9) or satpatha (v. 12.) was rejuvenated by the Mukharas who curbed the traits of Kali (vv., 8, 9, 12, 16). The verse 15 of this inscription runs thus :

प्रविशती कलिमासुत-घट्टिता  
क्षितिरलक्ष्यरसातलवारिधौ ।  
गुणशतैरवबध्य समन्ततः  
स्फुटित नौरिव येन बलाद्भृता ॥



“The earth like a broken boat being shaken in the storms of Kali was sinking below in the invisible ocean of nether regions”.

Mandsor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (CII., Vol. III, No. 33) dated Mālava-Samvat 589 (= 532-33 A. D.) informs us that “the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights”.<sup>1</sup> Thus kings suffered from the vice of moha, which accelerated the pace of Kali.

The concept of Kali has not been adequately assessed by the modern Indologists. The Purāṇas describe it in the context of the coming deluge in the wake of the Arab conquest of Sind. Internally Northern India was weak and divided. Externally it was subjected to alien invasions which shook the foundations of ancient Indian life and culture.

Harshacharita of Bāṇa refers to Mlechchhas settled in the coastal forests (H. C., p. 60). It mentions dūtas coming from the different countries (H. C., p. 60). The countries named Vāṇāyūja, Sindhudeśa and Pārasīka which were famous for horses are also mentioned (H.C., p. 62). There are references to Turushka-vishayāḥ and Pārasīka deśa (H. C., p. 214.). It shows that India did not live in isolation as far as its north western frontiers are concerned. In the east it had close contact with the regions of Dvīpāntara (H. C., pp., 137, 194, 208) comprising sarva-dvīpas (H. C., p.p. 58, 90; cf. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta : sarvadvīpavāsibhiḥ....) Pārasīkas and Turushkas were knocking at the doors of north western India and Madhyadeśa was subjected to factional politics (paksha-nīti) which led to an era of struggle among the rulers of Āryāvarta<sup>2</sup> Bāṇa states that Harsha turned it into

1. Mandsor St. Ins. of Yaśodharman, 1. 2, (CII., Vol. III, p. 146).

2. MMK., p. 605 :

अन्तिमे तु युगे कष्टे कलि प्राप्ते युगाधमे ।  
.....पाथिवा तु कलिप्रियाः ॥  
अन्योन्यवैरसंसक्ता परस्पर विहेढकाः ॥



the golden age of Kṛitayuga (prathama kṛitayugasyeva dṛiṣyante mahāsamārambhāḥ, H. C., pp. 90. 91). Thus Bāṇa also maintains that the pre-Harsha era was an age of Kali. Really it was an age of conflicts marked by the struggle between the Maukharis, Pushyabhūti, Later-Guptas and Śaśāṅka.

Śaśāṅka had established his reputation as a unique hero before the rise of Harsha. He is styled 'ekavīra' who was equal to Rājyavardhana. (MMK., III, p. 634). Prabhākara-vardhana died of illness. Grahavarman, the Maukharī king of Kanauj, was murdered and so was doomed the life of Rājyavardhana. Thus Śaśāṅka emerged victorious in this struggle for the supremacy of the Madhyadeśa. His empire extended from Vārāṇasī to Gauḍa. He performed Rājasūya sacrifice at Vārāṇasī and that spot was marked by the setting up of a Śiva liṅga called Chandra tīrtha.<sup>1</sup>

Viṣṇudharmottara which upholds the heroic character of Somarājā (Śaśāṅka) mentions Kṣhīṇa Yuga.<sup>2</sup> The death of Harsha left a void in the Madhyadeśa. The withdrawal of his strong arm let loose all the pent up forces of anarchy in the politics of Northern India. Yaśovarman, an ornament of the Kshatriya race, appeared as an incarnation of Viṣṇu to support the troubled earth. Thus in this age of darkness arose, on the horizon of Indian politics, another Moon, Rohiṇīramaṇa as it was an epithet of Yaśovarman of Kanauj.<sup>3</sup> He wanted to achieve the political status of a chakravartin by conquering the whole country extending from Kedāra in the north to Setu in the south. He achieved extensive conquests in the east, south, west and in the north.<sup>4</sup> He defeated Pārasīkas (Arabs of Sind).<sup>5</sup> But ultimately he suffered a reverse at the hands of Lalitāditya Muktiapīḍa<sup>6</sup> a tragic episode in the history of early Medieval India. Yaśovarman's court was adorned with two great poets viz. Bhavabhūti and Vākpati.

1. Skanda P., IV. i. 14. 30-38

2. V, D., I. 74. 2-11

3. G. V., 1063-1065

4. Ibid., 276-737

5. Ibid., 439

6. R. T., IV. 130-145



Their works reflect upon the political system of this age. The institution of Mitra as a constituent unit of the State shows the existence of a large number of petty, mutually warring states. It reminds us of the twelve states, dvādaśa rājamaṇḍala :

अरिमित्रमुदासीनोऽन्तरस्तत्परः परः ।

क्रमशोमण्डलं चित्यं सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ॥

Mitāksharā, 344, p. 286

The strength and stability of the State depended on the co-operation of all the limbs.<sup>1</sup>

King is the root of the State.<sup>2</sup> He destroys the chaotic conditions and establishes peace and security in the country. Kāmandaka states that if a king does not prove to be a good leader, people perish like a boat without a boat-man.<sup>3</sup> Like the rain-god (Indra) he is support to his people and in his distress lies the misery of the people.<sup>4</sup> Hence a king was to be protected by all means.<sup>5</sup>

But a king should be gifted with the virtues and merits (guṇanidhiḥ)<sup>6</sup>. Bhavahhūti maintains the importance of sāttvika guṇas (Mahāvīracarita, II. 40-ii) and ābhigāmika guṇas (MVC., IV, p. 150). According to Kāmandaka, ābhigāmika guṇas comprise noble descent, vitality, age, good conduct, politeness, promptness, truthfulness, service of the elders, gratitude, divinity, devotion, farsightedness, zeal, purity, desire for conquests and righteousness.<sup>7</sup>

According to Kumāradāsa a person even though endowed with merits must not be elevated to the office of a king devoid

1. KNS, IV. 1-3

2. Agni P., ccxxv. 12

3. KNS., I. 10

4. Ibid., I, 13

5. Ibid., VII. 29

6. MVC., IV. 17 : वीरः क्षत्रियपुंगवो गुणनिधिः श्लाघ्यो धरित्र्यापतिः ।  
KNS., IV. 3-23

7. KNS., IV. 6-8 :



of noble descent.<sup>1</sup> Kāmandaka also states that a king should belong to a prakhyāta-varṇa (illustrious family).<sup>2</sup>

Bhavabhūti holds that a king represents kshātradharmā based on the protection of the entire universe (kshātradharmā śrīta iva tanuṁ brahmakośasya guptaye).<sup>3</sup> It was natural for the poet Bhavabhūti, a champion of Vīrarasa<sup>4</sup> and vīra-chārītra-paddhati<sup>5</sup> to uphold the glory of Kshātra-dharma.<sup>6</sup> But the great poet maintains the importance of the union of Brāhma teja and Kshātra teja i.e. the concord and co-operation between the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas<sup>7</sup> :

अमोघमस्त्रं क्षत्रस्य ब्राह्मणानामनुग्रहः ।

दुरासदं च तत्तेजः क्षत्रं यद्ब्रह्मसंयुतम् ॥

MVC, II. 5

For their hostility ruins the country. The age of Śaśāṅka, a champion of the Brāhmaṇas, and Harsha, a champion of the Buddhists, witnessed wars between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.<sup>8</sup>

Thus the post-Harsha period was noted for Vīra charitas i.e. heroic deeds and Kshatriyas now known as Rajputs imbued with the spirit of valour dominated the Indian politics from the middle of the seventh to the end of the twelfth century A. D. Geography made the Rajputs the Pratihāras or door-keepers of India. The Arabs, who had occupied Sind, threatened the doors of Madhyadeśa. Hence arose the dynasty of the Pratihāras in the Gurjara deśa. Pratihāras claim Kshatriya lineage tracing their descent from Raghukula. "The Gurjara-Pratihāras

1. Jānakiharṇa, X. 35

2. KNS., IV. 10

3. MVC., II. 41

4. URC., VI. 19

5. Ibid., V. 22; MVC., III. 1

6. Ibid., V., p. 280 : एकस्तावदयं वीरपुरुषः पूजितो भवति । अपि  
च खल्वार्य ! क्षत्रधर्मः परिपालितो भवति ।

7. MVC., II. 18.

8. V. D., I. 74.5-7



were chronologically the earliest and historically the most important of the Rajput dynasties".<sup>1</sup> As long as they wielded their sword with power, the Tājikas and Turushkas could not get their access into the sacred country of Madhyadeśa.

Due to the Muslim menace a new ideal of heroic militarism (śauryam) was infused in the old Kshatriya blood. Vīravrata<sup>2</sup>, vīravratacharyā<sup>3</sup>, vīravrata-charitotkarsha<sup>4</sup> and vikrama<sup>5</sup> play prominent part in the Rajput annals. It stimulated fighting among them. Rājaśekhara, the celebrated ornament of the Pratihāra court, wrote several works under the patronage of Mahendrapāla I. In his Bālarāmāyaṇa<sup>6</sup> and Bālabhārata<sup>7</sup> he has shown that Svayamvaras, the assemblies of heroes (vīravarya-samāja)<sup>8</sup> coming from the distant countries, further stimulated the spirit of romantic chivalry ultimately leading to hostilities as has been shown by Rājaśekhara in his account of Sītā-svayamvara (in the Bālarāmāyaṇa) and Draupadī—svayamvara (in the Bālabhārata). The dangers of Turkish conquest accompanied with the destruction of temples invested the hero with the halo of a saviour. Mihirabhoja I known for his military prowess crushed the Muslim invaders. His age is aptly styled 'punyayuga' (i.e. Kṛitayuga). He destroyed the evils of Kali and turned his age into the golden age of peace and prosperity. But in doing so he followed a new invigorated strategy based on reorientated version of the epic ideals of polity according to which a king is required :

1. to observe his duties without bitterness;
2. not to cultivate relations with an athiest;
3. to acquire wealth without oppressing the people;
4. to be devoted to pleasure (kāma), but not intensely;

1. L. R. H., p. 4

2. Bālarāmāyaṇa, pp. 40, 48, 70

3. Ibid., p. 39

4. Ibid., p. 43

5. Ibid., pp. 44, 61

6. Ibid., pp. 10, 11

7. Bh., pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 19

8. Bālarāmāyaṇa, p. 27



5. to be gentle in his speech without appearing weak;
6. to be valiant, but not to be boastful;
7. to be liberal, but not without restraint;
8. to be brave and courageous, but without being cruel;
9. not to associate with the ignobles;
10. not to antagonise his agnates and cognates;
11. not to employ, as spies, the persons whose loyalty and faithfulness are doubted;
12. to execute his business without giving pain to any body;
13. not to disclose his purposes or secret plans in the times of distress;
14. to speak of the merits of others but never his own;
15. to acquire wealth but not from the saints and sages;
16. never to solicit the support of the wicked;
17. never to punish anybody without proper enquiry;
18. never to disclose his counsel;
19. to make gifts, but never to the covetous;
20. to repose confidence in others, but never in those who have injured him;
21. to have his queens guarded and protected properly; (cf. Kāmandakī Nīṭisāra, VII. 55 on dāraguptiḥ).
22. to protect the other kind and generous rulers;
23. not to indulge, too much, in the company of women;
24. to take pure and wholesome food, abstaining from what is harmful;
25. to pay his regards to the venerable;
26. to serve his teacher and preceptor with sincerity;
27. to worship the gods without religious hypocrisy;
28. to aspire for wealth, but without infamy;
29. to honour and serve Śrī (Royalty or State) with affection and attachment;
30. to be expert in his business knowing well the proper time of doing a thing;
31. to speak kind and conciliatory words;
32. not to abuse any one, while doing favour to him;
33. not to punish the Brāhmaṇas;
34. to destroy his enemies completely;
35. to show anger, but not without cause;
36. and not to be mild towards his enemies.



Here in these thirtysix merits of a king,<sup>1</sup> which are also mentioned in the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (chapter LXX) we find the essence of the Pratihāra polity based on the prati-haraṇa-vidhi (repelling of the enemies from the doors of India). By following these principles of state-craft Bhoja I ushered in an era of triumph. Thus a king is the real maker of his age (rājā kālasya kāraṇam).<sup>2</sup> By adhering to the principles of Daṇḍanīti with devotion and faith a king brings to his people a golden age of peace and prosperity :

दण्डनीत्यां यदा राजा सम्यक् कात्स्न्येन वर्तते ।

तदा कृतयुगं नाम कालमृष्टं प्रवर्तते ॥<sup>3</sup>

Bhoja I was "unfriendly to Arabs" and was regarded as the greatest foe of the Muhammadan faith". The country was prosperous, safe from robbers, and rich in natural resources.<sup>4</sup>

With the decline of the Pratihāras during the period of weak successors of Mahīpāla the disintegration followed. On the north-western frontiers Garjanakas (Gaznavids) rose to power and there were repeated incursions in the Antarvedī (Gangetic Doab). The Skanda Purāṇa refers to such demoniac people styled 'muktakachchha-śikhāvihīna'<sup>5</sup> (i. e., those who do not tuck the hem of their lower garment and those who have no lock of hair left on the crown of their head) i.e. the Turushkas<sup>6</sup> or Turks.

Thus it is clear that the daityas are identical with the Turks. The Mlechchhas who destroyed ancient temples and broke venerated idols have been styled daityas. They defiled the sacrifices and tīrthas. It is this phenomenon in the history of Hindu civilisation which describes daityas as the forces of destruction and in this historical perspective Devāsura-saṅgrāma has to be interpreted. It is not to be brushed aside as a

1. Skanda Purāṇa, VII. ii. 17. 85-93

2. Mbh., Śānti Parva, LXIX. 79

3. Ibid., LXIX. 80 ff.

4. Elliot & Dowson, History of India, Vol. I, p. 4

5. Skanda P., I. i. 14. 14

6. Padma Purāṇa, Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa, 78. 20-25, 40.



mythological lore. Devāsura-saṅgrāma of Antarvedī<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa represents struggle between the Hindu powers of North India and their enemies, the Turks.

After the dismemberment of the Pratihāra empire Moon once again began to shine on the sacred hill of Kālāñjara on the head of Nīlakaṇṭha. The successors of Chandra, born of Atri, hence called Chandrātreyas came into prominence under the leadership of Harshadeva Chandella who enhanced the prestige of the Chandellas considerably. Yaśovarman is highly praised as a śūra :

स दाता राधेयः स च शुचिवचाः पांडुतनयः ।  
स शूरः पार्थोऽपि प्रथितमहिमानः किमपि ते ॥<sup>2</sup>

That śūra combined in himself the virtues of Karna, Yudhisṭhira and Arjuna. He held weapons to destroy the miseries of his frightened people<sup>3</sup>. Like, a lion, he harassed the elephants.<sup>4</sup> He was a champion of Mahāvīravrata.<sup>5</sup>

Dhaṅga, son and successor of Yaśovarman, is eulogised for his 'bhuja-vyāpāra-līlā'<sup>6</sup> i.e. the achievements of his own arms. He became one of the most powerful rulers of Madhyadeśa, who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hamvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth....."<sup>7</sup> Hamvīra or Hammīra ( i. e. Amira ) represents a Muslim prince,<sup>8</sup> identified with Subuktagin<sup>9</sup>.

1. Skanda P, I. i. Chap. 14.

2. Khajuraho Stone Ins. of Chandella Yaśovarman, v. 24(i-ii).

3. Ibid., v. 25 (i)

व्रस्तत्रातरि तत्र भूभृति नृणां क्लेशाय शस्त्रग्रहः ।

4. Ibid., v. 30 (ii)

सद्यः सुप्त विबुद्धकेसरिव्रतस्यत्करीन्द्राकुलाः ।

5. Ibid, v. 32 (i)

6. Ibid, v. 45

7. DHNI, Vol II, pp. 680-681 ( vide EI, Vol. I, pp. 218 and 221, v. 17)

8. Ibid, pp. 681-682

9. Ibid., p. 682



Endowed with great kingly qualities of head and heart  
Dhaṅga stemmed the tide of Kali :

यस्त्यागविक्रम विवेक कलाविलास-  
प्रज्ञाप्रताप विभवप्रभवश्चरित्रात् ।  
चक्रे कृती सुमनसां मनसामकस्मा-  
दस्मादकालकलिकालविरामशंकां ॥

Khajuraho Stone Ins. of Yaśovarman, v. 46

He is compared with Kṛishṇa<sup>1</sup>. He died at Prayāga following the sacred rite of Prāṇatyāga after giving protection to the country and the Brāhmaṇas<sup>2</sup>. He set up an other Kalāpagrāma (in the inscription we have Kalpagrāma), a Brāhmaṇa colony famous for its intellectual culture not far from the Himālaya. The original Kalāpagrāma was situated to the north of the Himālaya.<sup>4</sup> Thus from the inscription we get the following information :

1. He was a great ruler gifted with 'vikrama' and 'viveka';
2. he was a zealous champion of the Brāhmaṇas;
3. he was a defender of the country;
4. he freed the country of its heavy burden which was caused by Hamvīra; and
5. he was equal to Hamvīra.

The Skanda Purāṇa mentions the glorious achievements of a great named ruler Pramiti, who stood as a saviour of the country against the Mlechchhas in the Madhyadeśa. His reign has been placed near 1002 A. D.<sup>5</sup> Hence he has been identified with Dhaṅga.<sup>6</sup>

1. Khajuraho Stone Ins. of Dhaṅga Renewed by Jayavarmadeva, v. 43
2. Ibid., v.v. 53-55
3. Ibid., v. 54
4. Studies in Skanda Purāṇa, Part I, p. 9
5. Ibid., pp., 185-187
6. Indian History Congress, Mysore, 1966, Paper on Pramiti read in Section I by me.



His remarkable political sagacity lies in his help to the Shahi rulers of the Punjab. The death of Ānandapāla threw open the gates of the Antardvī which heavily suffered from the blows of Mahmud of Ghazna before the Chandellas could reach the heart of Antardvī at Kānyakubja.

They had to wage wars with their neighbours, the Kalachuris, the Paramāras and the Chālukyas. Much of the country's strength was destroyed in these mutual wars at a time when India needed a confederation. Thinkers realised well the 'nāga-bhaya' (terror caused by Kalibhujāṅga); hence they appealed to the heroes to combine for the destruction of the nāgas<sup>1</sup>.

Kali-bhujāṅga<sup>2</sup> the dreaded dragon of Kali or Mlechchha was threatening the country as well as its culture.

The glory and grandeur of Avanti, and Rājasthāna is reflected in the Āvantiya-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. It upholds the might and majesty of Ujjayinī and Mahākāla (the lord Śiva who is adorned with the nāgas (the snakes). Ujjayinī was the earlier capital of the Pratihāras<sup>3</sup> before they moved to Kānyakubja. Vatsrāja, the early Pratihāra ruler, is styled Avantibhūbhṛita in the Jain Harivaṁśa. Ujjayinī was subjected to Arab invasions.<sup>4</sup>

Upendra arose as an incarnation of Viṣṇu to give protection to the country and its culture. Upendra and Kṛiṣṇa are identical<sup>5</sup>. In the Paramāra Copper Plates we find "the flying figure of Garuḍa holding a snake in his left hand"<sup>6</sup>. It is the representation of Gāruḍī śakti for the liberation of the motherland from the clutches of the snakes (Kali-bhujāṅga). It is in this context of the Muslim menace that the Garuḍa Purāṇa propagates the political philosophy of unity and freedom. The

1. Garuḍa P., I. 114. 66.

2. Skanda P., II. v. 13. 8 (i); II. v. 15.45 (i)

3. H. G. P., p. 35

4. Ibid., p. 36

5. DHNI., Vol. II, p. 844

6. Ibid., pp 861, 862, 863.

7. Garuḍa P., I. 115. 83.



political system of the Garuḍa Purāṇa represents the political ideas of the Paramāra-Chālukya-Chandella epoch.

#### Political system of the Garuḍa Purāṇa

Political system of the Garuḍa Purāṇa-i.e. Nīṭisāiam or the essence of polity is traced from Viṣṇu<sup>7</sup> for its origin. It is styled Bārhaspatya nīti<sup>1</sup> which aimed at the restoration of the lost power and prestige to Indra. Mahābhārata also deals with the Bārhaspatya polity mentioning those principles and policies by adhering to which Kshatriya kings (the Rajputs) could regain their power<sup>2</sup>. Gāruḍī-nīti is based on the principles of Arthaśāstra and a perusal whereof will benefit the kings<sup>3</sup>.

It was narrated by Bṛihaspati to Indra whereby the latter acquired omniscience and was enabled to recover the kingdom from the hands of the demons.<sup>4</sup>

Garuḍa advocates strong monarchy<sup>5</sup> based on glory, fame and valour. "A good life, lived even for a short while by a man in the fame of his learning, valour or manliness is called right living by the wise. Does not a crow eat and live to term ? ..... Cast not doleful looks, but live like a hero"<sup>6</sup>. A king should rule his kingdom according to the tenets of true religion, and should protect the country after complete victory over the armies of the enemies :

राज्यं पालयते नित्यं सत्यधर्मपरायणः ।  
निर्जित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥<sup>7</sup>

Here a king is directed to check the inroads of foreign invaders. Garuḍa further asserts that the one and imperative

1. Gauḍa P., I. 108. 10.
2. Mbh., Śānti Parva, CIII. 3—17, for full discussion see my Garuḍa Purāṇa—A Historical Study, pp. 76-82.
3. Garuḍa, P., I. 108. 1.
4. Ibid., I. 108. 10
5. Ibid., I. 115. 41
6. Ibid., I. 115. 32—34
7. Ibid., I. 111. 2.



duty of a Kshatriya is to protect the people from foreign invasions and from internal disturbances (pradhānaṁ kshatriye dharmaḥ prajānāṁ pratipālanaṁ)<sup>1</sup>. A king should protect the country for the advancement of order and prosperity; since the earth with the fame, valour and strength, which follows a just and vigorous rule, belongs to her protector. A king, who having bridled his senses, dedicates himself to the service of Viṣṇu and the well-being of the cow and the Brāhmaṇas is alone capable of ruling his subjects. Even amidst when flushed with victory and prosperity, a king should devote his Self to the pursuit of dharma, since the riches of the world are always liable to decay, where as the opulence of the soul knows no perishing. Pleasant indeed it is to gratify one's desires. Pleasant, indeed, are the riches of this world, but they are fickle and transitory as the flurried and wistful glances of an amorous damsel. Old age, like a tigress, is lying in wait just to spring upon a man; and diseases like victorious enemies enter in the body. ....Thinking so kings should shun pleasure in woman and should be devoted to Viṣṇu and the Brāhmaṇas ..... They should protect themselves and should work for the prosperity of their rāshṭra. A king grows (in strength) by adhering to the philosophy of Yoga and is not devoured by the evil diseases<sup>2</sup> :

स राजा वदन्ते योगाद्वयाधिभिश्च न वध्यते<sup>3</sup>

Such a philosophical outlook was instilled in the minds of the Kshatriyas, who did not hesitate in laying down their lives at the altar of the motherland. They failed only because they could not free themselves from the vices, political and social.

History of resistance to the Muslim invasions has to be written afresh in the light of the contemporary literature and epigraphs. It is to be noted that the Gwalior Inscription of Mihirabhoja is an important document of history throwing valuable light on the resistance to the Turks offered by the Pratihāras. Their place was occupied by the Gāhaḍavālas in

1. Gauḍa. P., I. 96. 27 (ii)

2. Ibid., I. 111. 6-15

3. Ibid., I. 111. 15 (ii)



the Antarvedī. Chandradeva and Govindachandra saved the country from being submerged in the floods of the Turkish invasions. Lakshmīdhara, the great statesman who wrote Kṛitya Kalpataru, also claims his master's victory over the wild 'elephants' through the efficacy of mantrasakti. From the Karnaṣundarī of Bilhaṇa, the famous Kāśmīrian poet, we know that a war took place between the Chālukyan army and the Gaznavids on the bank of the Indus and according to Bilhaṇa, the latter were defeated. Chālukyan rulers like Mūlarāja and Bhīma came into conflict with the Garjanakas or Guzz Turks (i. e. Gaznavids). Mohammada Ghorī was himself defeated by the Chālukyan forces in 1178 A. D. and in 1191 A. D. he was again defeated in the First Battle of Terain. The next year 1192 A. D. proved to be the year of India's collapse with the collapse of Bhāratesvara Prithivirāja III. Ancient India came to an end despite the offering of pure Kshatriya blood at the altar of Bhārati-dharā. What was true in the case of Kāśmīra, proved fatal for the whole of India :

स्वभेदेनेह नश्यन्ति बद्धमूला नराधिपा :

Nīlamata Purāṇa, 1005 (ii)

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1. Kṛityakalpataru, Rājadharmakāṇḍa, Maṅgala śloka, cf J.U.P.H.S., Vol. X (New Series) Pt. I, 1962, pp. 142.
  2. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Poona, 1963, pp. 47-49; Karna Sundarī, Act IV, p. 54.



## Conclusion

In the preceding pages I endeavoured to give an account of the historical setting of Northern India during the period from the 7th. century A.D. to 12th century A.D., 'the period of transition that intervened between the decline of the Hindu power and the gradual conquest of the country by the Muslims.' "The conquering zeal of the Arabs was checked by the impenetrable bulwark of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, and languished in the sands of Sind. The Muslim conquest did not really begin till the decline of the Pratihāra empire and the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th. century A. D. Before the Turks' conquest of Northern India was completed, new tribes began to pour through the gates of the Hindukush and challenged their authority. It was only an accident that the religion of some of the new comers happened to be Islam."<sup>1</sup> This change in the religion and character of the people of the hill-country was noticed by the Purāṇic writers who refer to the Mlechchhas living in the hill-country (Mlechhbhāḥ parvatavāsinaḥ<sup>2</sup> or Himāchalālayā Mlechchbhāḥ<sup>3</sup>). Devībhāgavata Purāṇa refers to the people of Kāmboja janapada (Pamir-Badakhshan region according to Dr. V.S. Agrawal or the region near Kandhār according to Dr. D. C. Sircar)<sup>4</sup>, as demons (dānavāḥ sarve Kāmbojāḥ), who were included in the army of the Daityas<sup>5</sup>. Dr. Hazra observes that "The way in which the Mlechchhas and the Yavanas have been mentioned repeatedly in the Devībhāgavata, tends to show that the author of the Purāṇas was quite familiar with the spread of the Muhammadans in India."<sup>6</sup> Skanda Purāṇa also mentions that

1. DHNI., Vol. II, p. 1211

2. Devībhāgavata Purāṇa, V. 32. 7 (ii)

3. Garuḍa Purāṇa, I. 55. 17.

4. Awasthi, Prāchīna Bhārata Kā Bhaugolic Svarūpa, pp.91-92 for full discussion on the identification of Kamboja.

5. Devībhāgavata P., V. 28. 11

6. Studies In The Upapurāṇas, Vol. II, p. 343



Lumpādhīpa, the Lord of Lumpa or Lampāka (Lamghan region) was accompanied by the thousands of the Mlechchhas, Tushāras (Tukhāras, the Tocharians), Daradas or Barbaras (people of Dardistan), Lumpas (people of Lumghan region), Pahlavas (Persians or Pāradas) and Śvagaṇas (Sogdenians) etc. Thus in the country full of the Mlechchhas (deśe Mlechchha gaṇākīrṇe), Lumpādhīpa became the king<sup>1</sup>. He has been identified with Sultan-i-Ghāzi (Mohammad Ghori), the Haider of the time and a second Rustam<sup>2</sup>.

The scholars engaged in the study of the Rajput history have not taken into account the testimony of the Purāṇas for the study of the Rajput dynasties. Skanda and Nārada (Purāṇas) throw valuable light on the age of the Pratihāras and Chandellas. Devībhāgavata Purāṇa, which mentions the origin of the Haihayas, glorifies the character of Ekavīra (Haihaya)<sup>3</sup>. It reflects upon the political system of this period marked by wars. It mentions that a Kosalan King Dhruvasandhi had two wives. Each of them had a son. The eldest queen Manoramā's son was Sudarśana gifted with all the royal virtues. Līlāvati, the younger queen, had a son named Śaturjit, who was proficient in flattering language. Hence the latter was dear to the king, the people and the ministers, who were not so devoted to Sudarśana.<sup>4</sup> In the course of time the king died. People, ministers and other State functionaries and Vasishṭha (the Purohita) met together to deliberate upon the succession of Sudarśana who was endowed with all the qualifications meant for the office of a king :

प्रजाः प्रकृतयश्चैव वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः ।

सुदर्शनं नृपं कर्तुं मंत्रं चक्रुः परस्परम् ॥

Devībhāgavata P., III. 14. 33

धर्मपत्नीसुतः शांतः पुरुषश्च सुलक्षणः ।

अयं नृपासनाहंश्च ह्यब्रुवन्मत्तिसत्तमाः ॥

Ibid., III. 14. 34

1. St. SK., Part I, p. 228.

2. Ibid., p. 229.

3. Devībhāgavata P., VI, ehaps. 16-23.

4. Ibid., III. 14 4-19.



Vasishṭha also recommended the case of Sudarśana by saying :

वसिष्ठोऽपि तथैवाह योग्योऽयं नृपतेः सुतः ।

बालोऽपि धर्मवान्राजा नृपासनमिहार्हति ॥

Ibid., III. 14 35

But in the meantime when the ministers were engaged in deliberations on the question of succession, the father of the younger queen, who was a king of Ujjayinī arrived at the capital with his army to support the cause of his dauhitra (son of his daughter). Similarly Vīrasena, king of Kaliṅga, also arrived there with his army to champion the cause of his dauhitra named Sudarśana. Thus there arose a vivāda (quarrel) among the covetous kings. It was a crisis in the country and sword seemed to decide the question of succession.<sup>3</sup> Feudatories desirous of a war also came there with their armies :

एवं विवदमानौ तौ संस्थितौ नृपती तदा ।

प्रजाश्च ऋषयश्चैव बभूवुर्व्यग्रमानसाः ॥

Devībhāgavata P. III. 14. 49

समाजग्मुश्च सामंताः ससैन्याः क्लेशतत्पराः ।

विग्रहं चाभिकांक्षतः परस्परमतद्रिताः ॥

Ibid., III. 14. 50

Nishādas, the wild people living in the Vindhyan forests, came to plunder the country, when they heard that the king was dead :

निषादा ह्याययुस्तत्र शृङ्गवेरपुराश्रयाः ।

राजद्रव्यमुपाहर्तुं मृतं श्रुत्वा महीपतिम् ॥

Ibid., III. 14. 51

The thievish people living in the different countries also arrived there, when they heard that two young (stupid) princes were quarrelling among themselves :

3. Devībhāgavata P., III. 14. 36-48.



पुत्रौ च बालकौ श्रुत्वा विग्रहं च परस्परम् ।  
चौरास्तत्र समाजग्मुर्देशे शान्तरादपि ॥

Ibid, III 14. 52.

Thus began the war among the rival princes and their supporters.<sup>1</sup> This account reflects upon the confused currents of Rajput history based on devotion to kshātra-dharma or passion for fighting at a time when the Turks, the hungry bands of Central Asia with insatiable thirst for plunder appeared as robbers. It is evident from the invasions of Sultan Mahmūd of Gazni and other invaders. Such was Rajput India suffering from the ills.

Whenever a weak ruler came upon a throne, the powerful rulers invaded his territory and occupied it :

दुर्बलस्य यथा राष्ट्रं हरते बलवान्पुः ॥

Nārādīya Pūrāṇa, I. 50 181 (i)

With the death of Skandagupta, the forces of anarchy gained strength. Harsha, however, succeeded in the political unification of a large part of Northern India. But his death was followed by the triangular fight between the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Decline of the Pratihāras witnessed the rise of the Chandellas, the Paramāras, and the Chāhamānas who fought among themselves. Thus there were wars which ruined the strength of the defenders of the country. They neglected their primary duty, which was to give protection to their people (lokarakshā mahābhṛitām).<sup>3</sup> Thus came a deluge and a dark night of distress.

1. Devībhāgavata P., III. 14 53; III., Chap. 15

2. Ibid, III 16. 2-6

3. Nārādīya P. II. 24. 43 (ii).



## SECTION II

# Rājapūta Polity

It is too narrow to think that "India had no formal political philosophy".<sup>1</sup> Prof. Basham holds : "From the days of Plato and Aristotle European thought has turned its attention to such questions as the origin of the state, the ideal form of government, and the basis of law, and Politics has long been looked on as a branch of philosophy. India also thought on such questions, but she had no schools of political Philosophy in the western sense, The problems which form the stock-in-trade of the European political philosopher are answered in Indian texts, but in a take-it or-leave-it manner, with little discussion; often indeed the only argument in favour of a position is the citation of an old legend, used much as Plato's adaptations of older myths to reinforce his theories".<sup>2</sup> I submit to differ with the distinguished scholar. The fault lies more with us than with the texts or the teachers of our ancient polity, which is represented by a galaxy of political thinkers.

Rigveda refers to the popular philosophers, Aṅgīrasa, Bṛihaspati and other enlightened thinkers. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishadas, too, refer to ancient thinkers. The Buddha was himself a great political philosopher, who followed the ancient traditions of Hindu Polity.

### Political Philosophy of the Buddha

The great religious preacher viz., Śākyamuni Buddha, a prince by birth, was a great political thinker who paved way for national unity. Dealing, with various punishments meted out to sinners (Aṅguttara Nikāya, \*I, pp. 46-47.), he observes :

सो दिट्ठधम्मिकस्स वज्जस्स भीतो न परेसं पाभतं विलुम्पन्तो चरति ।

इदं वुच्चति, भिक्खवे, दिट्ठधम्मिकं वज्जं । Aṅguttara, I., p. 47.

1. Basham A. L. The Wonder That Was India, p. 47

2. Ibid., p. 79.

\* Tripiṭaka edited by Bhikshu J. Kashyap 1960.



Thus he upholds Daṇḍa-gauravaṁ, importance of daṇḍa, which led to the foundation of kingship. He says :

“यस्मिं, भिक्खवे, समये चोरा बलवन्तो होन्ति, राजानो तस्मिं समये दुब्बला होन्ति । तस्मिं, भिक्खवे, समये बहुनो जनस्स अनत्थाय अहिताय दुक्खाय देवमनुस्सानं ।”  
Aṅguttara I, p. 65.

Thus he pleads for a strong and stable government for the good of the people :

“यस्मिं, भिक्खवे समये राजानो बलवन्तो होन्ति, चोरा तस्मिं समये दुब्बला होन्ति । तस्मिं भिक्खवे, समये.....होति बहुजन हिताय बहुजन सुखाय बहुनो जनस्स अत्थाय\* हिताय सुखाय देव मनुस्सानं ति ।”

Aṅguttara I, p. 65, ll 18-27.

Thus the Buddha appears, in the 6th century B. C., as a great democrat, whose political philosophy aimed at the progress and prosperity of the masses (bahuno janassa, Aṅguttara I, 65/17). His idea of kingship and administration was identical with the organisation of the Buddhist Church (Saṅgha), which championed the cause of bahujaṇa or demos. Hence political philosophy of the Buddha was based on democratic traditions. The Buddha wanted to take with him all the people to the abode of bliss here and hereafter. He professed an equilibrium between ‘attha’ and ‘dhamma’; which was imperilled by the rise of thievish people, who could be kept in check by a strong government. Tathāgata, rājā cha chakkavattī, stood for the annihilation of anarchy (arājakaṁ) and the preservation of Law :

यो पि सो भिक्खवे राजा चक्कवत्ती धम्मको  
धम्मराजा सो पि न अराजकं चक्क वत्तेति ॥

Aṅguttara I, p. 100/18-19.

He was the champion of Law and Order (dhamma). The Chakkavattī Sūtra describes the character and role of Rājā Chakkavattī Dhammarājā:

† cf. Asokās R. E. VI.....

सर्वत्र च जनस अये करोमि.....कतटवमते हि मे सर्वलोक हितं.....  
नास्ति हि कंमतरं सर्वलोक हितत्वा ... य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किति  
भूतानं आनणं गच्छेयं ।



इध, भिक्खु राजा चक्कवत्ती धम्मिको धम्मराजा धम्मं येव निस्साय  
धम्मं सक्करोन्तो धम्मं गहं करोन्तो धम्मं अपचायमानो धम्मद्ध जो धम्मकेतु  
धम्माधिपतेय्यो धम्मिकं रक्खावरण गुत्तिं सं विदहति अन्तो जनस्मिं ।.....

Āṅguttara I, pp. 100/29—101/1.

Thus the Buddha, too, upheld the sanctity of Dhamma (Dharma) or Rīta, which set the chakra rolling:

धम्मेनेव चक्कं वत्तेति ।

Āṅguttara I, p. 101/29.

He also paved way for national unity :

अयं जम्बूदीपो इद्धो चेव भविस्सति फीतो च ।

कुक्कुट सम्पातिता गाम निगम राजधानियो ॥

Dīghanikāya, III, p. 59,

He dispelled darkness which had engrossed the world :

एवमेवं गोतमेन अनेक परियायेन धम्मो पकासितो ।

Āṅguttara I, p. 159/28-29.

The age of the Buddha was marked by the rise of Magadhan imperialism, and the great Magadhan minister Vassakāra was a political thinker of no mean order (Parinirvāṇa Sūtra, pp. 3-10).

Rāmāyaṇic Thinkers—Rāmāyaṇa, too, asserted the good of people (vṛiddhi kāmō hi lokasya)<sup>1</sup> to be the highest ideal of a State styled Rāma-rājya based on loka-mata (rājāno lokasammatāḥ)<sup>2</sup>. Kings were subservient to Dharmabandha.<sup>3</sup> The Epic refers to Bṛihaspati<sup>4</sup>, Vasishṭha (Vasishṭha rājadharmavit)<sup>5</sup>, Hanumāna<sup>6</sup>, Rāvaṇa<sup>7</sup> and Vibhīṣhaṇa<sup>8</sup>, as the

1. Ayodhyā K., I. 35

2. Ibid., I. 49

3. Ibid., XIV. 24

4. Ibid., I. 32, 39

5. Ibid., LXXXI. 9

Aranya K., LXVI. 18

Kishkiṇḍhā K., XXXI. 12; LIV.4

6. Ibid., LXVI. 2, 3, 47;

Sundara K., XLI. 2-4.

7. Ibid., LII. 7

8. Yuddha K., IX. 8-12, 16, 22.



exponents of Rājadharmā or Rājasāstra. Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Bhārgava-nīti-saṁhitā<sup>1</sup>. We find salient features of Rāmānīti (Ayodhyā K, Chaps., C-CII), which is also dealt with in the Agni Purāṇa (Chaps. CCXXXIX—CCXLII). Vāsishṭha-nīti has been described in a celebrated medieval work, named Yogavasishṭha. (Part II, Chaps., 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 etc.).

**Bhārata-Chintakas**—Mahābhārata presents the views of the different political thinkers :

Vāsudeva (Vāsudeva-naya),<sup>2</sup> Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyana<sup>3</sup>, Paraśurāma and his disciple Droṇa,<sup>4</sup> Kaṇika,<sup>5</sup> Nārada,<sup>6</sup> Bṛihaspati,<sup>7</sup> Uśanā,<sup>8</sup> Vasishṭha,<sup>9</sup> and Bhīshma, the most exalted exponent of Rājadharmā. The Epic refers to Auśanasa śāstra,<sup>10</sup> Bārhaspatya-śāstra,<sup>11</sup> Kāmandaka,<sup>12</sup> and Maheśvara's Rāja-dharma<sup>13</sup>. It refers to Viśālāksha,<sup>14</sup> and his work named Vaiśālāksha<sup>15</sup> as well as Bāhudantaka,<sup>16</sup> Bārhaspatya,<sup>17</sup> and Śukra-nīti śāstra (Kāvyaṁ).<sup>18</sup> These are well-known works

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1. Uttara K., XCIII. 19.
  2. Ādi P., I. 131.  
Sabhā, P., XV. 13 (1)
  3. Ādi P., I. 25; Śānti P., XXXIII. 42-45.
  4. Ibid., CXXIX. 52.
  5. Ibid., CXXXIX. 2. 3.
  6. Ibid., CCXI. 27.  
Śānti P., I. 10-13; VII. 5, 11-23 etc.
  7. Ibid., XXXVII. 9, 10.
  8. Ibid., XXXVII. 10.
  9. Ibid., XXXVII. 11.
  10. Ibid., CXXII. 11.
  11. Ibid., LIX. 84.
  12. Ibid., CXXIII. 11-12, 15-25.
  13. Anuśāsana P. Ch. CXLV. 11-12, 15-25.
  14. Śānti P. LIX. 80.
  15. Ibid., LIX. 81-82.
  16. Ibid., LIX. 83.
  17. Ibid., LIX. 84.
  18. Ibid., LIX. 85.



of the Hindu Polity. Kauṭilya himself refers to Viśālākṣha and Bāhudanta<sup>1</sup> etc.

**Paurāṇikas**—The Purāṇas also mention the names of ancient political thinkers. Skanda P. lays stress on the role of Dharma śāstra-prayojakas,<sup>2</sup> like Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Uśanā' Aṅgirā, Yama, Āpastamba, Saṁvartta, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati,<sup>2</sup> etc. in addition to Bhīṣma<sup>2</sup> and Chāṇakya<sup>3</sup> (Kauṭilya).

Smṛitis are recognised for their valuable contribution in the development of ancient political thought. Nibandhas, too, throw valuable light on the ancient polity.

**Medieval thinkers**—It shows the popularity of polity, which was an important branch of learning from the Vedic age to the medieval times. Rājāśekhara, too, refers to Daṇḍanīti<sup>4</sup> or Rājāsiddhānta<sup>5</sup> quoting Auśanasa,<sup>6</sup> Bārhaspatya<sup>7</sup> and Kauṭilya.<sup>8</sup> Rājāśekhara upholds the importance of Daṇḍanīti (Daṇḍanītir-evaikā vidyā)<sup>9</sup>. Kṛiṣṇa Miśra, a Chandella minister, also holds the same view recognising Daṇḍanīti,<sup>10</sup> alone as ā vidyā (Daṇḍanītireva vidyā). Somadeva Sūri refers to the following political thinkers :

गुरुशुक्रविशालाक्षपरीक्षितपराशरभीमभीष्मभारद्वाजदिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्र-  
श्रवणसनाथश्रुतिपथमभजन्त ।

Yaśastilaka, III, p. 315 (Kāśi Edn)

Daśakumāra-charita of Daṇḍī also refers to the following ancient political thinkers :

1. K A.S., p. 13 etc.
2. Skanda P., II. iv. 32 2.
3. Ibid., I. ii. 40. 251.
4. K. M., 4/5-6, 7, 10,
5. Ibid., 35/2.
6. Ibid., 4/8.
7. Ibid., 4/9.
8. Ibid., 4/12.
9. Ibid., 4/7.
- 10 Prabodha Chandrodaya, p. 71.



येऽपि मन्त्रकर्कशास्तन्त्रकर्तारः शुक्राङ्गिरसविशालाक्षबाहुदन्तिपुत्र पराशर  
प्रभृतयस्तैः किमरिषड्वर्गं जितः कृतं वा तैः शास्त्रानुष्ठानम् ।

द० कु० च०, पृ० २५९

It asserts :—

तनु चतस्रो राजविद्यास्त्रयी वार्तान्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिरिति । तासु.....  
अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इदमिदानीमाचार्यं विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः  
श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता ।

द० कु० च० पृ० २५६

While discussing the importance of Daṇḍanīti, Daṇḍī asserts that it is the Kula-vidyā of the kshatriyas ( Daṇḍanītim kulavidyām ), whose intellect is sharpened only with the knowledge of the Arthaśāstra<sup>3</sup>. King devoid of its knowledge is doomed and people suffer from misery and trouble. Hence they violate the Law and consequently lawlessness prevails. Daṇḍī also refers to Viṣṇu Gupta—Chāṇakya ( Kauṭilya ) and Kāmandaka, as the exponents of Nīti. These are the well-known śāstrakāras of the Hindu Polity. There are references to Artha-chintakāh<sup>1</sup> (professors of the Arthaśāstra) as well as Arthaśāstras composed by ancient teachers<sup>2</sup>. Viśākhadatta also showers eulogium on ārya Chāṇkya-nīti<sup>3</sup>, Auśanasa daṇḍa-nīti, studied by Viṣṇuśarmā, who was an associate of Chāṇakya<sup>4</sup>, and other authors of Arthaśāstras ( Arthaśāstrakārāḥ )<sup>5</sup> quoted by Viśākhadatta on the three types of governments Prithivīrāja

1. D.K. Ch., p. 253.

2. K. A. S., pp. XI-XII.

3. Ibid., Book I. Chapt I, p. 1 : "This Arthaśāstra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthaśāstras, which..... have been composed by ancient teachers."

Ibid, Book XV, Chap. I, p. 427.

4. M. R., VI. 1 :

प्रतिहृतप्रतिपक्षा आर्यं चाणक्य-नीतिः ।

5. Ibid, after I. 15 :

विष्णुशर्मानाम ब्राह्मणः । स चौशनस्यां दण्डनीत्यां.....पर  
प्रावीण्यमुपगतः ।

6. Ibid, after III. 19 :

इह खलु अर्थशास्त्रकाराः त्रिविधां सिद्धिमुपवर्णयन्ति ।



Rāso also alludes to Viśāla (Viśālasya rājanīti)<sup>1</sup> identical with Viśālāksha. It upholds the sanctity and sublimity of Vedanīti (Antima Yuddha, 259). Prithivīrāja Vijaya mentions Śukra (PV., II. 20), Prachetā (PV., V. 62), and Bṛihaspati (PV., XII. 35). It maintains the celebrity of Guru (Bṛihaspati) and Śukra (PV., IX., 36). Thus we have a continuous, and well-knit chain of political thinkers, who observed the Indian politics and came forward with their philosophies. Was not Bhīshma a political philosopher, whose discourse on Rājadharmā, Dānadharma and Mokshadharmā has always been held high in esteem? We reiterate that India had her own political philosophy-unique and matchless. Lakshmīdhara, the Gāhaḍavāla minister, was also an eminent philosopher.

Philosophy in India has been a way of life instead of being a subject of dry discussion or table-talk. Philosophy grows directly out of life and its problems. It is a discipline of human mind. 'We live in the midst of a situation that places imperious demands upon us. The inescapable urge of life brings us face to face with an environment that calls from us certain types of activity : to live is to be compelled to do something under definite circumstances'.<sup>2</sup> Philosophy, thus, grows directly out of life and its needs.

A renaissance of national life fostered by foreign invasions began with the Arab occupation of Sind. It caused terror, which stirred the mind and arms of the defenders. Thus, Hindu medieval India witnessed the development of political philosophy based on the spirit of freedom, unity, valour and political wisdom (prajñā). Gaznavide onslaughts accompanied by death and destruction stimulated the national mind to think of the ways and means to escape the annihilation :

लब्धास्वादो गजेन्द्रोऽयं पुनः पुनरिहैष्यति ।  
निःशेषयिष्यत्यस्मांश्च तदुपायोऽत्र चिन्त्यताम् ॥

Kathā Sarita Sāgara, LX. 33

1. P. R., Ādikathā 26.

2. Cunningham, G. WATTS, Problems of Philosophy, (London), p. 4.



Hindu medieval thought lays more stress on the efficacy of prajñā rather than that of parākrama (valour):

प्रज्ञा श्रेयसे न पराक्रमः ॥

KSS., LIX. 10

Mārjāramūshikopākhyāna of the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata shows that mouse secured his life in the midst of enemies through the use of his prajñā :

एवं बहुभ्यः शत्रुभ्यः प्रज्ञयात्माभिरक्षितः ।

मूषकेन तिरश्चापि किं पुनर्मानुषेषु यतः ॥

KSS. XXXIII. 130

### PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

Philosophy, an important discipline of human mind, sustains people and princes alike, when their minds are enveloped in agony. When they are on the verge of collapse due to excessive stress and strain, philosophy extends her soothing hand of solace and sustenance. "The inescapable urge of life brings us face to face with an environment that calls from us certain types of activity : to live is to be compelled to do some thing under definite circumstances" <sup>1</sup>

The Post-Harsha period witnessed "the disastrous effects of the destructive inroads of Islam".<sup>2</sup>....."The Muslims were not only foreign mlechchha (unclean and boorish) conquerors, but they had deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities by indiscriminate demolition of temples and destruction of images of gods on a large scale".<sup>3</sup> The story of the Turkish conquest of India has not been properly written on the basis of indigenous version of the episode. Yaśastilaka of Somadeva Sūrī, Daśa Kumāra Charita of Daṇḍī, Kathākośa of Harishēṇa, Kathāsarita Sāgara of Somadeva, Bṛihat Kathāmañjari of Kshemendra, Pṛithivirāja Vijaya of Jayānaka, Rājatarāṅgiṇī (I, II, & III of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, and Śrivarā Paṇḍita) as well as the Purāṇas like Vārāha, Vāmana, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu-dharmottaraṁ, Agni, Bhāgavata and Skanda have not been

1. Cunningham, G. WATTS, Problems of Philosophy, p. 4.

2. Majumdar, R. C., The Struggle For Empire", p. 398,

3. Ibid., p. 399.



evaluated for the purpose. Garuḍa and Skanda are seriously devoted to the study and analysis of the Turkish conquest of India. Similarly Yogavasishṭha, a well-known religio-philosophical text of the early medieval India, has escaped the notice of modern historians.

Prajñā and vimarśa played an important role in the history of Hindu medieval thought. These were believed to be the effective ways and weapons for the attainment of liberation. Skanda asserts :

तस्माद्विमर्शः कर्तव्यः पुरुषेण विपश्चिता ।

विमर्शाज्जायते ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्मोक्षो भविष्यति ॥

Skanda P., I. 1. 9. 44

Here 'vimarśa' (deliberation and discussion), jñāna (knowledge derived from contemplation) and moksha (release) are urged to bring political liberation. Indra was deprived of his kingdom by king Indrasena, who vanquished the former by the force of his arms. It is in this context that moksha or deliverance refers to the freedom from political bondage and the recovery of kingdom, so lost by Indra, the king of the Suras (gods). An instance to this effect—that the wise people should deliberate upon the problem, as it leads to the realisation of truth, which, in turn, brings deliverance—we may point to the discussion of such knotty problems of national importance, as to how this country had been occupied by the Mlechchhas (Skanda P., V. III. 5. 14). Thus vimarśa-sthānam (Rūpakashatkam, p. 188) had its unique significance in the evolution of Hindu medieval thought. Nava Sāhasāṅka Charita styled it viveka-vartma based on shaḍguṇa, and Upāya-tatva (N. S. Ch., X. 10). Kṛishṇa-Miśra, the Chandella minister and a poet, portrayed his age urging the efficacy of viveka,<sup>1</sup> which alone could dislodge Mahārāja Moha<sup>2</sup> stimulated by women, wine and passion (veśyā, āsava, manmathotsava)<sup>3</sup> as well as heretics (Veda-

1. Prabodha Ch., I. 11, 12; p. 26.

2. Idid., p. 50; p. 79 :

भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर महामोह.....।

3. Ibid., II. 1; p. 79 :

काम सहचरो



viplāvakā...muṇḍita muṇḍāḥ)<sup>1</sup> viz. Buddhists<sup>2</sup> and Jains.<sup>3</sup> It asserted the importance of Daṇḍanīti (Daṇḍanītireva vidyā)<sup>4</sup>.

According to Śukra, king is also known as Daṇḍa and his nīti, which regulates, governs and guides, is called Daṇḍanīti.<sup>5</sup> Rightly, Matsya holds that it is the custodian of law and order in the society (maryādāsthāpanārthanā dāṇḍanītiḥ pravartate).<sup>6</sup> Skanda asserts that it is a code of punishment to the evil doers for the guidance of those who have to wield the royal sceptre and as such it was highly respected by kings (daṇḍayitṛi Daṇḍanītiḥ dushṭadaṇḍadharārçhitā).<sup>7</sup> But kings spurred by vices violated it and it led to their collapses (durnaya paripāka).<sup>8</sup> These vices viz. hostility (vaira),<sup>9</sup> mutual wars (anyonyakalaha),<sup>10</sup> rivalry (baddha-sparddhā)<sup>11</sup> and sensuous passion (madana mohāndhatā)<sup>12</sup> stupefied them. Hence Sarasvatī had herself to rush to enlighten the minds (prabodhanāya)<sup>13</sup> of kshatriya rulers by destroying their stupidity (durvinaya) and miseries so caused.<sup>14</sup> She earnestly appealed for the life of detachment (vairāgya).<sup>15</sup> She is styled Vaiyāsikī Sarasvatī (vairāgyotpattaye Vaiyāsikīm Sarasvatīm) who was deputed in person to awaken (prabodhodayāya) the kshatriya rulers from

1. Prabodha Ch., p. 54.

2. Ibid., II. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 100.

4. Ibid., p. 17.

5. Śukranīti (Eng. Tr. B. K. Sarkara) p. 22, VV. 313-314.  
Ibid., I. 156.

6. Matsya P., CXLII. 74.

7. Skanda P., IV. I. 29. 88.

8. P. B. Ch., p. 170.

9. Rūpakashaṭkam p. 4.

10. Ibid., p. 8.

11. Ibid., p. 7.

12. Ibid., p. 38.

13. P. B. Ch., p. 181.

14. Ibid., p. 181.

15. Ibid., p. 181.



## PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

[ 29

deep slumber engrossed in passion, hostility, inebriety and envy (rāgadvesha mada mātsaryādayaḥ).<sup>1</sup>

Naya-Bhārati (Yogavasishṭha, II. 17. 1.)

and Vaiyāsikī Sarasvatī paved way for the intellectual renaissance and reformation based on historical tradition and philosophy and this intellectual revolution was spurred by Vishṇubhakti :

सरस्वती प्रेषिता.....विष्णु - भक्त्या ।

सखि सरस्वति, गच्छापत्य व्यसनखिन्नस्य मनसः प्रबोधनाय ।

यथा च तस्य वैराग्योत्पत्तिर्भवति तथा यतस्वेति.....।”

Prabodha Ch., p. 111

Sarasvatī consoles :—

(उपसृत्य) वत्स, किमेवमतिविकलवोऽसि ननुविदितं पूर्वं भवता भावानामनित्यता, अधीतानि च त्वयैतिहासिकान्युपाख्यानानि । तथा हि—

Do not feel disturbed and distressed thinking the transitory nature of the worlds' existence :

भूत्वा कल्पशतायुषोऽम्बुजभवः सेन्द्राश्च देवा सुरा ।

मन्वाद्या मुनयोमही जलधयो नष्टाः परं कोटयः ॥

मोहः कोऽयमहो महानुदयते लोकस्य शोकावहः ।

सिन्धोः फेनसमेगते वपुषि यत्पञ्चात्मके पञ्चताम् ॥

Prabodha Cha., V. 14

Sarasvatī implores and inspires the spirit of unity :—

तद्भावय भावानामनित्यताम् । निरयमनित्यवस्तुदर्शनो न पश्यति शोकावेगम् । यतः—

PB. Ch., p. 183.

एकमेव सदा ब्रह्म सत्यमन्यद्विकल्पितम् ।

को मोहस्तत्र कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

Prabodha Ch., V. 15

Sarasvatī asserted that the national distress was based on the life and philosophy of attachment (P. B. Ch., p. 184). It urges to discriminate between 'nitya' and 'anitya', former, permanent and eternal, leads to bliss, while the latter, the transitory

1. P. B. Ch., p. 179.



emotions and aspirations, cause misery and trouble. In brief, Sarasvatī fondles the kshatriya rulers with her filial affection, so asking them not to be excited by the violence of their enemies (amīṣhāmapakāriṇāmarthe ko'yamatyāveśo bhavataḥ).<sup>1</sup> Many such vicious and valiant invaders had been disposed off. So what, if they suffered at the hands of those sinful people :

तीर्णाः पूर्णाः कति न सरितो लङ्घितो के न शैलाः ।

नाक्रान्ता वा कति वन भुवः क्रूर संचार घोराः

पापैरेतैः किमिव दुरितं कारितो नासिकष्टं ।

यदृष्टास्तेघनमदधी म्लानवक्रादुरीशाः ॥

P. B. Ch., V. 18

Sarasvatī drew their attention towards religious<sup>2</sup> and political unity.<sup>3</sup> Sarasvatī's instructions were based on those of ancient sages<sup>4</sup> inspired by the philosophy of Upanishadas.<sup>5</sup> It was a great intellectual revolution which sustained and supported the defenders of this beautiful country.

Yogavasishṭha asserts the importance of adhyātmajñāna, the nobest thought, hence styled Rājavidyā, by the knowledge of which kings got relieved of their mental agonies.<sup>6</sup> Kingdoms, wealth, and pleasures are the fruits of thought.<sup>7</sup> King is guided by prudent thought. Through deep meditation he can assess the true nature of things in the times of distress, and confusion regarding the problems associated with sandhi and vighraha.<sup>8</sup>

1. PB. Ch., p. 185.

2. Ibid., p. 173.

3. Ibid., V. 8.

5. Ibid., p. 196.

6. Y. V., II. 11. 18 :

राजविद्या राजगुह्यं अध्यात्मज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।

ज्ञात्वा राघव राजानः पारं निर्दुःखताम् गताः ॥

7. Ibid., II. 14. 10 :

राज्यानि सम्पदः स्फारा भोगो मोक्षश्च शाश्वतः ।

विचारकल्पवृक्षस्य फलान्येतानि राघव ॥

8. Ibid., II. 14. 38.

कार्यसंकट संदेहम् राजा जानाति राघव ।

निष्फलं सफलं वापि विचारेणैव नान्यथा ॥



Thus vimarśa and viveka alone help a king in deciding his policy and action pertaining to peace and war. Kṛishṇa Miśra upheld the might of vichāra-śara (thought, sharp and effective like arrows) for the destruction of enemies :

सोऽहं प्रकीर्णैः परितो विचारैः शरैरिवोन्मथ्य बलं परेषाम् ।

सैन्यं कुरूणामिव सिन्धुराजं गाण्डीवधन्वेव निहन्मि कामम् ॥

Prabodha Ch., IV. 14

There is pun on the word Sindhu-rāja, which represents Jayadratha, the Epic King of Sindhu-Sauvira (modern Sind), as well as a Muslim ruler of Sind. Chandella minister approves of vastu-vichāra for the sustenance of life (vastuvichāreṇaiva jīyate)<sup>1</sup> and the same expedient is summoned—

तमेव.....विजयार्थम्.....आहूयतां वस्तुविचारः ।

P. B. Ch., p. 141

It is this philosophy, which breaks the chain of human bondage, physical, mental and political. Thus politics had been closely associated with philosophy. Gītā, an acknowledged philosophical text, traces its origin from the battle-field, where in the midst of warring armies the great Epic hero drooped down on his charriot throwing away his bow. Kṛishṇa, a great political thinker, rejuvenated new vigour and blood in the mind and heart of Arjuna. Kṛishṇa represents an institution—a school of thought, recognised by Śukra (Śukra-nīti, IV. 129) Similarly Śukra and Brihaspati were two ancient schools of political philosophy, which influenced and inspired medieval Indian thought. It is rightly said :

“The Owl of Minerva takes its flight,

Only when the twilight shades begin to fall.”

With the advent of Rajanī-parābhavam,<sup>2</sup> the poets and thinkers drew attention of the Rājapūta princes towards the immortality of soul as preached by the Gītā. They were spurred to fight and enjoy the company of divine ladies viz. apsaras by meeting death in the battle-field.

1. P. B. Ch., p. 141.

2. P. V., II. 17.



## HINDU MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Daṇḍī (Daśakumāra Charita), Somadeva Sūri (Yaśasa-tilaka and Nītivākyaṃṛita), Kshemendra (Bṛihat Kathāmañ-jarī), Somadeva (Kathāsarit Sāgara), Visākhaḍatta (Mudrā-rākshasa) and Jayānaka (Prithivīrājaviṃśaya) have discussed different problems of their epochs in their respective works. Inscriptions of this epoch are also very important for the study of Rājaśāstra.<sup>1</sup> Space does not permit me to discuss these different schools of thought. But we may now set forth the salient features of the politics of the period based on the well-known works of the age.

## Ārya Chāṇakya Nīti

Daṇḍī's political ideas were inspired by the Kauṭilyan school of political philosophy, which inspired and influenced Kāmandaka (I. 5-6). He was conversant with the Arthaśāstras of Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka.<sup>2</sup> He tells us that Āchārya Viṣṇugupta had composed his work on Daṇḍanīti comprising six thousand verses for the guidance of Mauryan King :

अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इयमाचार्यं विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः  
श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता ॥<sup>3</sup>

It refers to Kauṭilyan Arthaśāstra. Daṇḍanīti is styled Kulavidyā of the Kshatriyas.<sup>4</sup> It leads to the abode of happiness guiding with its light based on the Śāstras :

आगमदीपदृष्टेन खल्वध्वना सुखेन वर्तते लोकयात्रा ।<sup>5</sup>

Kauṭilya himself tells us : "This Śāstra has been made by him who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda king".<sup>6</sup>

1. C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 150, (lines 23-24); p. 157 (lines 25-26); Anjanerī Plates (First set) of Bhogaśakti, Year 461 (—710-11 AC).

2. D. K. Ch. Pūrva, I, p. 23.

कौटिल्य कामन्दकीयादि नीतिपटल कौशल.....

3. Ibid., Uttara., VII, p. 256.

4. Ibid., Uttara, VIII, 254.

5. Ibid., Uttara, VIII, p. 254.

6. K. A. S. (Shamsastry, 1951) p. 463.



**Importance of Kauṭilyan Politics**

Thus the significance of Kauṭilyan politics is evidently very great as far as the recovery of kingdom was concerned. It is for this reason that Kauṭilya was held high in the national life of our country. Hammīramadamardana, a Sanskrit drama written between A. D. 1219 and 1229 by Jayasimha Sūri, a contemporary of King Vīradhavalā of Gujarat deals with the efficacy of Chāṇakyan Politics. It is divided into five acts.

The theme of the play is based on the struggle between Turushkas and the rulers of Gujarat. The Turkish chief styled Hammīra invaded Gujarat in course of his campaigns in Western India. Yādava king Siṅghana also threatened Gujarat at this time. Thus confronted by the dangers to his country King Vīradhavalā consulted his ministers Teja-pāla and Vastupāla, who warned the king to desist from his aggressive policy unless he had secured his own position by securing the help of Mewar princes. Second Act displays the diplomatic manoeuvres by means of which the astute minister succeeded in creating dissension in one camp—between Siṅghana and his ally Saṅgrāma Simha, who joined the camp of Vīradhavalā. In Act III we hear of Mlechchhas' attack on Mewar. But the strategy of Vastupāla forces the Turkish invader to leave Mewar. In Act IV another strategy of the astute minister poisons the mind of Khalifa of Baghdad against Hammīra, the Turkish invader, whose army was repulsed. In the last act we are told that Vastupāla released the two preceptors of Hammīra, who were to dissuade their disciple to abstain from committing cruelties. Thus Vastupāla, who is compared to Chāṇakya the minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, succeeded in rescuing the kingdom of Gujarat by driving out the Turkish army. Thus the role of Chāṇakya and his politics was well recognised in the Medieval India.

Mudrārākshasa, too, showers encomium on the astute diplomacy of Chāṇakya styled Ārya Chāṇakya Nīti.

Somadeva Śūri also asserts :

विना जीवितमस्वस्थे यथौषधविधिवृथा ।  
तथा नीतिविहीनस्य वृथा विक्रमवृत्तयः ॥

Yasastilaka, III. 260.



i.e. There is no gain to medical treatment provided to a person whose period of life is exhausted. Similarly valourous deeds (and romantic chivalry of the Rajputs) devoid of political thought were of no avail. Viśākhadatta extols Ārya-Chāṇakya-nīti<sup>1</sup> for its efficacy in the destruction of the enemies (pratihata pratipakshā Ārya-Chāṇakya-nītiḥ).<sup>2</sup> Navasāhasāṅka Charita also eulogises Nayaśāstra, comparing it with dīpa-śikhā, which dispells darkness from the face of the earth.<sup>3</sup> Hence the Paramāra court-poet urges :

अधुना तु नीतिनिहितेन चेतसा फणिलोक कृत्यमिदमेवचिन्त्यताम् ।<sup>4</sup>

Prithvirāja Vijaya also asserts the importance of the combination of political wisdom and valour for the prosperity of the State and kingdom :

नयसिक्ता प्रतापेन क्रमात्पल्लवितोद्गमा ।

विकसत्कान्तिपटला फलति पुण्यपरम्परा ॥

P. V., V. 98

दत्ताशीशमित क्लान्तिछुत्पिपासैसदाध्वनैः ।

लक्ष्मीर्यद्भुजमारूढा वृद्धि शाखाशतगता ॥

Ibid., V. 99

Jayānaka adds—

प्रज्ञाबलोत्साहसिध्युपाय गुणोदया ।

सर्वांगमुन्दरी यस्य नीतिर्वल्लभतां ययौ ॥

Ibid., V. 104

Viśākhadatta too summons Nītididyā with all its āṅgas and Śākhās :

गुणवत्युपायनिलये स्थितिहेतोः साधिके त्रिवर्गस्य ।

मद्भवन नीतिविद्ये कार्यादार्ये द्रुतमुपेहि ॥

M. R., I. 5

“O noble lady, science of polity incarnate in my house (i.e. in our country) come with haste for the accomplishment of an ātyāyika along with (six) guṇas, (four) upāyas, and siddhis for the stabilisation of State and society. Thus it is evident that Post-Harsha period of Indian history was permeated with

1. M. R., VI, p. 254 (after VI-2)

2. Ibid., VI. 1.

3. N. S. Ch., X. 6.

4. Ibid., X. 24.



the mental activities and intellectual unrest caused by the influx of alien conquerors viz. Tājikas and Turushkas. It led to the development of polity based on new forces and institutions. Despite our researches most of us still believe that after the death of Harsha, "In political institutions no evolution took place."<sup>1</sup>

The age, marked by the alien invasions as well as occupation of Sind, Punjab and North Western Hill-country by the Mlechchhas, stirred the mind of national poets and thinkers. The fundamental state-structure remained the same as was prevalent in the past, but new political institutions as well as instruments of war moved ahead to meet the challenge which threatened the country and culture.

Popular stories became medium of political instructions and Rājanīti was exhaustively expounded and elaborated in the various stories (nānā kathāntare tatra rājanīti vido mithaḥ).<sup>2</sup> Jātakas, Pañchatantra, Kathākosha of Harisheṇa, Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla, Bṛihat-kathā Mañjarī and Kathāsarit Sāgara are such treasures of Hindu genius exhibited in the discussion of Rājanaya.

These thinkers visualised the compendium of politics in the form of a rājya-vṛiksha or nīti-vṛiksha. Somadeva Sūri holds :

अष्टशाखं चतुर्मूलं षष्टिपत्रं द्वयेस्थितम् ।

षट्पुष्पं त्रिकलं वृक्षं यो जानाति स नीतिवत् ॥

Yaśastilaka, III. 260.

Daṇḍī observes :

“राज्यं नाम शक्तित्रयात्तम, शक्तयश्च मन्त्रप्रभावोत्साहाः परस्परानु-  
गृहीताः कृत्येषु क्रमन्ते । मन्त्रेण हि विनिश्चयोऽर्थानाम् प्रभावेण प्रारम्भः,  
उत्साहेन निर्वहणम् । अतः पञ्चांगमन्त्रमूलः, द्विपुष्पप्रभावस्कन्धः, चतुर्गुणोत्साह  
वितपः, द्विसप्तति प्रकृतिपत्रः, षड्गुणकिसलयः, शक्तिसिद्धि पुष्पफलश्च,  
नयवनस्पतिर्नेतुरुपकरोति ।”

Daśakumāracharita, Uttara, VIII. 276.

It is an abridged treatise styled nīti-taru, complete in itself, sufficient enough to meet the challenge of “durvāravairivara-vāraṇa” styled Mātāṅga-mahā-bhaya. Kathāsarit Śāgara also

1. E. H. I., p. 371.

2. B. K. M., VIII. 597.



mentions Rājanītisamuchchaya (K. S. S., XXXIV. 189) dealing with kingship, the royal conduct based on decency and decorum of conduct, appointment of ministers after careful examination and tests (upadhābhīḥ...parīkshitān, Daṇḍa, chāra (spy), Kosha-daṇḍa (treasury and army), Kaṇṭakas (thorns), as well as tri-śaktis, upāyas and guṇas for the conquest of enemy's lands (paradeśa jigīṣuḥ) The ignorant of these elements of Hindu Polity meets his doom. Times were very hard.<sup>1</sup> Princes, under the state of stress and strain,<sup>2</sup> could not learn the large treatises on politics. Hence short compendiums like Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra based on sūtra style were composed.

Vishṇudharmottaram presents the saptāṅga-rājya, which was to be protected :

किं नु कृत्यतमं राजस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व पृच्छतः ।  
राज्यतन्त्रं कथं राज्ञा पालनीयं विपश्चिता ॥

Vishṇu Dh., II. CXLV. 1

सप्तांगस्य च राज्यस्य भावयुक्तेन भूभृता ।  
एतावदेव कर्तव्यं राज्ञा तन्त्रं भृगूत्तम ॥

Ibid., II. CXLIV. 2

साम दानं तथा दुर्गं कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च ।  
मित्रं जनपदश्चैव राज्यं सप्तांगमुच्यते ॥

Ibid., II. CXLIV. 3

Vishṇudharmottaram reflects the Post-Harsha period of Indian history, when Sind was occupied by the Arabs styled Śaindhavā Mlechchhā nāstikyā Yavanāsthā (V. D. R., I. IX. 7), who are placed in the West. Does it not reflect and represent a change in the constitution of State ? Svāmī and amātya are replaced by Sāma and Dāna, the two important expedients for securing the well-being of the state. Dr. B. B. Mishra (Polity in the Agnipurāṇa, p. 27) failed to assess the importance of this change in the political trend of the age, though he followed me in his observations that svāmī and amātya are supplanted by Sāma and Dāna. It is absurd to interpret Dāna—one of the four upāyas—as gifts given to Brahmanās. Hence the question

1. K. S. S., XXXIV, 190-206.



of Brahmanical bias is misleading. Vishṇu Dharmottaram asserts :—

सप्तांगस्य च राज्यस्य विघ्नकर्तृन्विवासयेत् ।  
अहितान्घातयेद्राजा क्षिप्रमेवाविचारयन् ॥

V. D. R., II. CXLV. 4

सप्ताङ्गस्य च राज्यस्य वृद्धिः कार्या सुमण्डले ।  
मण्डलेषु च सर्वेषु कर्षणीया महीक्षिता ॥

Ibid, II. CXLV. 5

मण्डलानि समाचक्ष्व विजगीषोर्यथाविधि ।  
यान्याश्रित्य नृपैः कार्यं सन्धिविश्रुहचिन्तनम् ॥

Ibid., II. CXLV. 6

‘Chintanam’ (contemplation, deliberation, and discussion) reflects national consciousness, which is urged for the destruction of the enemies. internal or external, particularly the Mlechchhas (Mlechchhaiḥ samchhādite deśa sa taduchchhittaye nripaḥ)<sup>1</sup> It could be accomplished by means of Maṇḍala policy (V. D. R., II. CXLV. 7-13) upholding the importance of sandhi and vigraha according to the exigency of the time (V. D. R., II. CXLV 14-19). It urges the growth of power (pratāpa-vṛiddhi).<sup>2</sup> It also upholds the use of Māyājāla or Indrajāla<sup>3</sup> (Chhala-nīti) for the destruction of enemy. Thus alone king could relieve the country of Parachakra-bhaya<sup>4</sup> Thus important developments took place in the Hindu Medieval India based on liberty, unity and equality.

### Political System of Prithivīrāja Vijaya

The age of Prithivīrāja III represents a turning point in the history of India. Ancient India came to an abrupt end after the second Battle of Tarain (1192 A. D.), where Prithivīrāja III suffered crushing defeat at the hands of Mohammad Ghorī. He quits the political stage and most probably retired to *tapovana* to embrace asceticism as is

1. R. T., 107.

2. V. D. R., II, CXLV. 19-20.

3. Ibid., II. CXLVIII. 7-9; II. CXLIX. 1-3.

4. Ibid., II. CLIV. 21.



evident by the observations of Prithivīrājaviṣṇaya<sup>1</sup> (I. 48-49). where Rāma Hari (Prithivīrāja III) is stated to have embraced jīnatva (PV., I, 48) and tāpasatā (PV., I. 59). His exit, however, from the stage was marked by violence and vandalism of the Turkish armies (PV., I. 50-51) marked by a reign of persecution and terror to Brāhmaṇas (PV. I. 52) and to the sacred spots (PV., I. 53) as well as to the social and religious life (PV., I. 54-56). Age of crisis and catastrophe marked by struggle for survival began. It is aptly styled Rajanīparābhavam (PV., II. 17)—the dark night of distress.

Evidently then it heralded new developments in the political organisation of the country. All the rulers of this dynasty were nationalist rulers whose *svadharma* was protection of the country, culture and people destroying those who threaten them. As such they were trained in the national school of Pratihāra politics (pratihāraṇa vidhe yo paratīhāra āsit).<sup>2</sup> They had matrimonial relations with the Pratihāras of Kanauj<sup>3</sup> and Chālukyas of Gujarat,<sup>4</sup> who fought for freedom of the country. But these dynasties related with one another by the bonds of blood and bone, quarrelled among themselves and these wars proved suicidal. It was consequently urged that they should combine to regain the lost power :

समानान्वयजातानां परस्परविरोधिनाम् ।

परैः प्रत्यभिभूतानां प्रसूते संगतिः श्रियम् ॥

Prabodha Ch., V. 8.

रे रुक्मिबान्धवतृपा परमः क्रमो वः, सम्बन्धिनो वयमयी भवतोऽप्युपेताः ।

अस्माभिरैक्यमधिगम्यरणोत्सवेऽस्मिन्नासूत्र्यतां विशद बाहुमदोपयोगः ॥

Rūpakashaṭkam, Rukmiṇi, IV. 5.

It exhibits a change in the thinking process of the Indian nation in that age. But it is not noticed by the modern researchers.

1. cf., Appenix.

2. Gwalior Stone Ins. of Bhoja, line 3.

3. P.V, V. 31.

4. Ibid., V. 51.



Prithivīrāja Vijaya refers to political thinkers<sup>1</sup> (nītijñā, PV., XII. 39) like Śukra (PV., II. 20) and Bṛihaspati<sup>2</sup> (PV., XII. 35). The science of Politics is styled Nīti,<sup>3</sup> Naya<sup>4</sup> and Rājavidyā.<sup>5</sup> The poet conceives of Nīti as a woman comprising the beautiful limbs of prajñā, (political wisdom), bala (strength), utsāha (valour), sidhyupāya (four upāyas for the attainment of success), and guṇas (śaḍ guṇas aimed to promote the peace and prosperity of the State). Thus Sarvāṅga Sundarī Nīti<sup>6</sup> is presented in conformity with the national concept of Indian medieval thought (cf. MR., 1.5—guṇavatyupāya nilaye.....nīti vidye). Jayānaka further upholds the efficacy of buddhi-bala<sup>7</sup> (Intelligence) and udyama<sup>8</sup> (strenuous exertion), and purushārtha<sup>9</sup> (intensive effort) Undeterred and undaunted by the forces of Daiva or Kāla, defender of the country i. e. Kshatriya, had to fight keeping in view the immortality of the soul—

युधि कश्शरीर निरपेक्षतां विना प्रविशेदुपेक्षित तनोश्च किं धनैः ।  
इति यो दद्यात्खिल दातृतामयं स्फुटमेक एव पुरुषार्थलक्षणम् ॥

PV., IX. 7.

### State and its Structure

Prithvīrāja Vijaya exhibits its knowledge of the organic character of a State and nīti was aimed to bring good to all its

1. PV., IV. 60; V. 62.
2. Ibid., IX. 36.
3. Ibid., V. 62, 104; XI. 37.
4. Ibid., II. 44; V. 98.
5. Ibid., IX. 65.
6. Ibid., V. 104 :

प्रज्ञाबलोत्साहसिद्ध्युपायगुणोदया ।  
सर्वांगसुन्दरीयस्य नीतिवल्लभतां ययौ ॥

7. Ibid., XII. 39 :

इति बुद्धिबलेन दुस्तरादपि चिन्ताजलधेस्समुद्धृतः ।  
बदतामिव धर्मनन्दनः प्रथमस्सत्यवतां व्यजिज्ञपत् ।

8. Ibid., XII. 41.
9. Ibid., XII. 56.



limbs (sarvāṅga)<sup>1</sup> viz. king<sup>2</sup>; minister<sup>3</sup>, army<sup>4</sup>, treasury<sup>5</sup>, fort (durga),<sup>6</sup> ally (mitra)<sup>7</sup> and territory (prithivī<sup>8</sup> or deśa<sup>9</sup>;) These are well-known constituents of a State, the progress and prosperity of which depended upon their co-operation and co-ordination. Skanda asserts that Rājya devoid of sovereignty loses its vitality and existence :

न राज्यं राज्यमित्याहुरज्यं श्री प्रेयसी ध्रुवम् ।  
सप्तांगमपि तद्राज्यं तथा हीनं तृणायते ॥

Skanda P., IV. i. 34. 98.

It reflects the exit of sovereignty from the stage.

### KINGSHIP

**King's importance**— People in the absence of a king represent the physical bodies deprived of heads :—

परिवृढ रहितश्शिरोविहीनो भवतिपुमानिति यः पृथु प्रवादः ।  
अहित भुजभृता.....तम गमयच्चरितार्थतां नरेन्द्रः ॥

Jonarāja explains :—

“अस्वामिको लोकश्शिररहितो भवतीति यो महाञ्जनप्रवादस्तं शत्रुभटानां शिरांसिच्छित्वा सत्यार्थत्वमनयत् ।.....”

P. V., X. 35

Thus Prithvirāja Vijaya follows Śukra who asserts that king is the head of the State (saptāṅgamuchyate rājyam tatra mūrdhā nṛipaḥ smṛitaḥ).<sup>10</sup> But the poet asserts, in his own poetic way, that the life of the State and people depends on the

1. PV., V. 104.
2. Ibid., III. 7, 8, 75, 79; IV 49, 53, 56; VII 30; X. 3.
3. Ibid., II. 44; VI. 44; VIII 58; IX. 44.
4. Ibid., X. 31, Sainya.
5. Ibid., VIII. 26
6. Ibid., X, 31, 50
7. Ibid., I 67.
8. Ibid., VIII. 30.
9. Ibid., XI. 66.
10. Śukranīti, I 61.



personality of a king, whose presence secured the protection of the country and people.<sup>1</sup>

### Avadāta kshatriyatā (True kingship)

The word Kshatra is explained as the source of sustenance and support against the injuries (kshatāt santrāṇanāt kshatram).<sup>2</sup> He is usually styled Kshatriya because of keeping weapons with him (śastrāstra dhāraṇāt prāyaḥ kshatriyaḥ syāt).<sup>3</sup> Rāmāyaṇa also asserts that Kshatriyas carried bow with them only to relieve the world of distress and misery (kshatriyair dhāryate chāpo nārta śabdo bhavediti).<sup>4</sup> The title of Chāhamāna, the Ādi-purusha of this dynasty, rests on this concept of kshatra, kshatriya and chāpa (bow) :

करेणचापस्य हरेर्मनीषया बलेन मानस्य नयस्य मन्त्रिमिः ।  
धृतस्यनामाग्निमवर्णनिर्मितां सचाहमानोयमिति प्रथां ययौ ॥

P. V., II. 44.

Similarly kṛipāṇa was also known for its quality of giving protection to the country and people (jagadrakṣhā parāyaṇam .....kṛipāṇam)<sup>5</sup> Sword was the only reliable friend of Kshatriya kings :

अस्ति प्रत्यथि मृध्वीपतिविपुल बलारण्यमूर्च्छत्प्रतापं  
ज्योतिर्ज्वालावलीश त्रिभुवनविवरो विश्वविश्रान्तकीर्तिः ।  
गोपालोभूमिपालान्प्रसभमसिलतामात्रमिदमेण जित्वा  
साम्राज्ये कीर्तिवर्मा नरपतितिलको येन भूयोऽभ्यषेचि ॥

Prabodha Ch., I. 4

### 1. P. V., VIII. 4

सनाथां पृथिवीं मत्वा राजपुत्रस्य जन्मना ।  
रजोपि पस्पृशुस्तस्यास्त्रासादिव न मारुताः ॥

Jonarāja explains—

“राजपुत्रेण जातेन सस्वामिकां पृथिवीं संभाव्य भयादिव वायवो रजोपि  
भूमौ न पस्पृशुः ॥

2. Skanda P., IV. ii. 87. 32; Mārkaṇḍeya P., CXIX. 24.

3. Skanda P., IV. ii. 87. 32.

4. Rāmāyaṇa, Aranya K., X. 3.

5. Rūpakashaṭkam, p. 191.



Such were the basic qualifications of a Kshatriya king in the Hindu Medieval India. Prithvīrāja Vijaya represents the sacred earth crying, under great stress and strain, for her saviour, the true Kshatriya gifted with the virtues of compassion and swordsmanship :<sup>1</sup>

यः कोपि वा साहसिकोऽस्ति लोके यस्यास्ति वा क्षत्रियतावदाता ।  
कृपाकृपाणाभरणोऽस्ति यो वा स पातु मां मृत्युभयादमुष्मात् ॥

P. V., VI. 110

It shows the dearth of 'sat kshatriya'<sup>2</sup> or avadāta Kshatriya i.e. pure Kshatriya, who did not desert their posts of duty by their abject betrayal. Such Kshatriyas who did not stick to their *svadharma* were styled Kshudra-Kshatriyas<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Kshatriyas who did not adhere to Kshatra-vrata, 'vīra-dharma, or khaḍgabala<sup>4</sup> i.e. the sacred duty of a Kshatriya (padam vartmani Kshatriyāṇām).<sup>5</sup>

A sat-Kshatriya was the refuge of dharma and dharā. There was a national urge for the services of an avadāta Kshatriya.

But history knows it well that most of the Kshatriyas fled in terror. Hence such Kshatriya was rightly styled 'avarajam'.<sup>6</sup> Soḍḍhala exhorted :

देवक्षत्रियपुङ्गव ! प्रहरत संख्येव्वसंख्यमदप्रस्यद  
प्रसरान्धसिन्धुरशिरः स्कन्धं कृपाणस्यते ।  
धारासंगत मौक्तिक द्युतिपरीवेषच्छलादन्तिके  
दत्तः काण्डपटो क्षात्रियभिसृतारातिश्रिय संगमे ॥

Udayasundarikathā, p. 41.

1. Vikramāṅkadevacharita, I. 1 :

स पातु वः कंसरिपोः कृपाणः ।

2. Rūpakashaṭkam, Kirātārjunīyam, I. 39 :

धर्मः कठोर कलिकाल कदर्यमानः ।

सत्क्षत्रियस्य शरणं किमिवानुयातः ॥

3. Ibid., Rukmiṇīharṇa Īhāmṛiga, I. 24 :

क्षुद्रक्षत्रिय कीटकैरविदितक्षात्रव्रतैः.....

4. Ibid., p. 70, verses 13-14.

5. Ibid., Kirātārjunīyam Vyāyoga I. 42.

6. Rāmacharita (Abhinanda kṛita), XXXVIII. 96.

Mbh. Sabhā P., XIV. 2; Āśvamedhika P., XXI. 14-16



Vishṇudharmottaram also asserts the importance of kṛipāṇa :

कृपाणधाराविध्वस्तशत्रुसंघ समुद्भवा ।

न या श्रीः किं तया कार्यं राजन्सत्त्वतां नृणाम् ॥

V. D., I. 211. 5.

It also upholds the efficacy of chāpa (bow) :

विद्यमानेषु चापेषु कः सहेत् पराभवम् ॥

V. D., I. 211. 22

### Rājatvam (PV., V. 36)

Thus, in short, we conclude that the fundamental basis of kingship in Hindu Medieval India was the purification of the country<sup>1</sup> (prithivīm pavitratām netum rājasabda kṛitārthatām).<sup>2</sup> "Vigraharajā IV performed this duty well enough ; and it is with no little pride that he speaks of his having rendered Āryāvarta worthy of its name by the repeated extermination of the Mlechchhas i.e. the Muslim invaders from the north west :"<sup>3</sup>

आर्यावर्त्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान्मलेच्छविच्छेदनाभि

ह्वैः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते बीसलक्षोणिपालः ॥

Delhi Pillar Ins. of Bīsaladeva, verse 3.

Prithivīrāja III, too, justified his title of rājā by destroying the Mlechchhas (PV., VIII. 30-31). But it did not last long and the collapse of Prithivīrāja III led to the destruction of rājarājatvam (PV., VI 88). Hindu kings were forced to embrace the status of vassalage.

### Origin of Kingship.

Prithivīrāja Vijaya also traces the origin of kingship to an urge to avert the evils of *mātsyanyāya* :

दिक्पालतेजोमयमूर्तिभाजां कवीञ्जिधांसन्ति बुधाः पुरोयत् ।

राजामिदं तद्वरुणोपदिष्टं मात्स्यं प्रतिन्यायमुपेक्षकत्वम् ॥

P. V., I. 27.

Here Jayānaka follows Manu relating to the origin of kingship :—

1. P. V., VIII. 31.

2. Ibid., VIII. 30.

3. E. Ch., D., p. 60.



अराजके हि लोकेस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुतेभयात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥

Manu, VII. 3

इन्द्रानिल यमार्कणिमग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्यशाश्वतीः ॥

Ibid., VII. 4

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।

तस्माद्भिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥

Ibid., VII. 5

तपत्यादित्यवच्चैषां चक्षूषि च मनांसि च ।

न चैनं भुवि श्वनोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥

Ibid., VII. 6

सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।

स कुवेर स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

Ibid., VII. 7

Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva, Chap. CXXII) gives an exhaustive account of this ancient tradition, which describes the origin, evolution and divinity of kingship in ancient India.

### Divinity of Kingship

Prithivīrāja Vijaya upholds the divine character of Hindu monarchy. Prithivīrāja III is, himself equated to Rāma, (P. V., I. 33). King is compared to Indra (Prithvīpurandara)<sup>1</sup> and other divine personalities like Varuṇa, Mahendra, and Yama etc.,<sup>2</sup> as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ravi and Kārtikeya<sup>3</sup> based on the identity of functions, a Kshatriya king had to perform. The Chāhamāna rulers from Chāhamāna to Prithivīrāja III are stated to have represented Āditya.<sup>4</sup> Prithivīrāja III and his minister Kadambavāsa have been respectively mentioned as Rāma<sup>5</sup> and Hanumanta.<sup>6</sup> The

1. P. V., IV. 87.

2. Ibid., V. 132.

3. Ibid., VI. 32-38.

4. Ibid., VIII. 74.

5. Ibid., I. 33.

6. Ibid., IX. 38.



former is repeatedly referred to as the God-incarnate (*devatā tanumāśritya*).<sup>1</sup> *Prithivīrāja* III is also compared to *Brahmā* (P. V, IX. 78) and *Indra* (*kshiti-Jishṇu*, P.V., XII. 5). *Harirāja*, his brother, is called *Lakshmaṇa*. The king is equated to the well-known *daśāvataras*<sup>2</sup> of *Vishṇu* with a mission to relieve the earth of the calamities.<sup>3</sup>

**Titles.** The royal titles viz. *nareśvara*,<sup>4</sup> *narapāla*,<sup>5</sup> *narapati*<sup>6</sup> as well as *dharaṇīpāla*,<sup>7</sup> *prithivīpati*,<sup>8</sup> and *kshitiapati*<sup>9</sup> reflect the royal function of giving protection to the country and people. The epithet *mahī-mihira*<sup>10</sup> also reflects the kingly duty of destroying distress and darkness from the earth like that of sun.

### King's Character and Qualities

King was desired to be a *kshatriya* of pure conduct<sup>11</sup> gifted with the merits and virtues, which led to his election by *Rāja Lakshmi* (*guṇavadbhir vṛitā lakshmiḥ*).<sup>12</sup> It reminds us of *Skanda Gupta*'s election by *Lakshmi*.<sup>13</sup> Piety and noble conduct (*pūrṇaiḥ puṇyaiḥ*)<sup>14</sup> as well as divine splendour (*Āditya-dyutayaḥ*)<sup>15</sup> emanating from qualities, virtues and beauty<sup>16</sup> were also requisite qualifications of a person befitting

1. P. V., IX. 45,48,50—58 etc.

Ibit., IX. 67 : उपगम्य दिव्यतनुतां

2. Ibid., IX. 49-54.

3. Ibid., IX. 54.

4. Ibid., IV. 79.

5. Ibid., IV. 75.

6. Ibid., X. 3.

7. Ibid., IV. 49.

8. Ibid., IV. 53.

9. Ibid., IV. 56.

10. Ibid., IV. 58.

11. Ibid., VI. 110.

12. Ibid., VIII. 7.

13. *Junagarh Rock Ins. of Skanda Gupta*, verse 5.

14. P. V., VI. 25; VIII-31.

15. Ibid., VIII. 74.

16. Ibid., X. 3.



the exalted throne.<sup>1</sup> Thus youth and vigour (yauvana śrī)<sup>2</sup> as well as discipline and self-control (vinaya vaśamvadatā) and eloquence (vadānyatā)<sup>3</sup> were the royal virtues.

The character and qualities of a king were developed by training (dīkshitatvam)<sup>4</sup> and education (nṛipa śikshā).<sup>5</sup> A king had to attain proficiency in the science of arms (śikshitamastra vidyayā)<sup>6</sup> and art of warfare (yuddhatatva)<sup>7</sup> comprising archery (chāpa kauśala kalā),<sup>8</sup> swordsmanship<sup>9</sup> and horse-riding.<sup>10</sup> Thus it is evident that a prince was highly educated in arts and sciences suited to his job.

#### Vyasana (Vices)

Like the other works dealing with political ideas, Prithvīrāja Vijaya also holds that a king had to lead a restricted and restrained life, devoid of vices. Hunting (mṛigayā) and drinking (kādambarī)<sup>11</sup> are stated to be vices, though these were the popular means of royal recreation (mṛigayā vinoda).<sup>12</sup> But there were five particular vices styled aripañchaka—enemies of the royal splendour, and these were subservient to Kāma (passion).<sup>12</sup> Kauṭilya, Śūkra, Brihaspati and other thinkers also assert that shaḍvarga-ari i. e. sixfold enemy should be suppressed and subdued in order to attain self-control.<sup>13</sup> Śūkra mentions these six vices as passion, anger,

1. M. R., III. 18.

2. P. V., X. 5.

3. Ibid., X. 42.

4. Ibid., IX. 18.

5. Ibid., XII. 10.

6. Ibid., X. 30.

7. Ibid., IX. 57, 58.

8. Ibid., IX. 61.

9. Ibid., IX. 59, 60.

10. Ibid., IV. 14, 21.

11. Ibid., IV. 27.

12. Ibid., IV. 59 :

कामानुयातमरिपञ्चकमन्यदाहुस्तस्मिञ्जिते तदपि ते पुरतो वराकम् ।

13. K. Arthaśāstra I. 7, 1 :

तस्मादरिषड्वर्गत्यागेनेन्द्रियनयंकुर्वीत् ।



stupidity, greed, pride, and arrogance in which kings should not indulge themselves<sup>1</sup> It will bring happiness to him. Bṛihaspati also enjoins kings to give up these vices.<sup>2</sup> But Jayānaka, aptly, assigns the highest place to Kāma (passion and lust) making ari-pañchaka i. e. krodha, moha, lobha, māna and mada subordinate to the former (Kāmānuyātamaripañchakam<sup>3</sup> Gītā, too, holds that he, whose senses are mastered, attains the stability of prajñā (Gītā, II, 61). All these vices lead to utter ruin (Gītā, II. 62-63). Thus the author of Prithivīrāja Vijaya urged strongly the rulers to be conscious of the dragon, the Kāma.

### Functions of King

People's happiness (prajā sukha),<sup>4</sup> protection and prosperity (prajā kshema)<sup>5</sup> were the most important duties of a king, who was the support<sup>6</sup> and sustenance of the country (vasudhām babbhāra).<sup>7</sup> He gave protection to all the creatures (rakshati charācharam jagat)<sup>8</sup> particularly to the sacred country of Bhārata.<sup>9</sup>

A king is stated to be defender of social order (parirakshati varṇa saṁsthitim)<sup>10</sup> with his devotion to Brāhmaṇas (dvija-vatsalatā).<sup>11</sup> Similarly he stood as a saviour of cow (go-rakshaṇa).<sup>12</sup> In short a king's mind was devoted to the prosperity and well-being of his subjects (prājya

1. Śukranīti, I 142 :

कामक्रोधस्तथा मोहो लोभो मानोमदस्ता ।

षड्वर्गमुत्सृजदेनमस्मिस्त्यक्तेसुखी नृपः ॥

2. Bārhaspatya Sūtra, I. 106.

3. P. V., IV. 59.

4. Ibid., III. 21.

5. Ibid., VIII. 65.

6. Ibid., IX. 66.

7. Ibid., IX. 67.

8. Ibid., IX. 68.

9. Ibid., IX. 83.

10. Ibid., XII. 20.

11. Ibid., IX. 73.

12. Ibid., VI. 109.



prajābhyudaya vardhana datta chitte).<sup>1</sup> He had to defend the entire earth by destroying the valiant and wicked Mlechchhas, who threatened it, by his own prowess :

येनदुष्टदमनेन सर्वदः साधिताखिल मही सुबाहुभिः ।

Harsha Stone Ins. of Vighrahārāja II, line 19.

Prithivīrāja III, the defender of the four varṇas, sanctified the whole earth by destroying the Mlechchhas, thus, fully justifying the title of kingship :

पृथ्वीं पवित्रतां नेतुं राजशब्दं कृतार्थताम् ।

चतुर्वर्णधनं नाम पृथ्वीराज इति व्यधात् ॥

P. V., VIII. 30.

पूर्णः पूष्यैस्तमुत्सङ्गे कृत्वा कारणमानुषम् ।

पूर्णपुण्याभवद्वात्री पवित्रत्वमवाप च ॥

Ibid., VIII. 31.

### Imperialism

Hence rightly Prithivīrāja III was styled Bhāratesvara (P. V., XI. 8). It represents the imperial status of Prithivīrāja III. Hindu imperialism was reflected by the possession of Sapta-ratna (Ratna-saptakam, P. V., II. 66). Prithivīrāja Vijaya upholds chakravartitā (PV., II. 41) based on the status of paramountcy (sakalabhūmibhṛitām, PV., III. 27; or sakaladigjaya, PV., III. 23), and bhū-sattā (PV., V. 105) which led to his Prabhutā (PV., XII. 32) or Parameśvaratā (PV. IV. 56).

### Ministry

A king is ruined by an evil counsel (daurmantryān nṛpatir vinaśyati).<sup>2</sup> Duryodhana met his doom due to his wicked and vicious minister, while Chandra Gupta Maurya was placed on the throne as a paramount sovereign by a single, but an able, minister named Chāṇakya.<sup>3</sup> Prithivīrāja Vijaya also refers to the importance of counsel (mantra mahimatvam).<sup>4</sup>

Though the number of ministers was not fixed, yet there were many ministers (mantriṇaḥ) under the government of Prithivīrāja III.<sup>5</sup>

1. P. V. H., IX. 85.

2. Bhartṛihari Nītiśataka, 35.

3. Yaśastilaka, III. 243.

4. P. V., IX. 41.

5. Ibid., XI. 24.



Ministers were highly learned persons possessing proficiency in politics (naya)<sup>1</sup> based on *śāḍguṇya*,<sup>2</sup> the six expedients to royal policy as well as the four *upāyas*<sup>3</sup> viz. *Sāma*, *Dāma*, *Danḍa*, and *Bheda*.

Kadambavāsa, equated to Śukra and Bṛihaspati (Guru), was the exalted minister of Pṛithivīrāja III defending the virtues of his sovereign by checking him from the path of vices.<sup>4</sup> He gave protection to every quarter like Hanumāna and exerted strenuously to enhance the glory of his sovereign.<sup>5</sup> There are references to *mantriṇ*,<sup>6</sup> *sachivas*,<sup>7</sup> and *mahāmātyas*.<sup>8</sup> *Mahāmātya* definitely denotes a higher rank. But we can not ascertain the relation, which existed between a *mantriṇ* and a *sachiva*. The ability of Kadambavāsa was exhibited in the *Sabhā* as is evident from the epithet *Sabhā-Vyāsa* given to him.<sup>9</sup> He exerted great influence upon the king and his policies. The astute minister checked his sovereign from taking any hasty action.<sup>10</sup> Such was the importance of a minister on whose ability depended the victory or success of a king (*mantramūlo vijayaḥ*).<sup>11</sup>

#### Kośa

One of the seven constituents of a state, *kośa* represents the royal treasury, revenue as well as the entire financial system of a state. The acquisition of wealth is stated to be very difficult (*aśādhyam kośatā*).<sup>12</sup> *Kośādhipati*<sup>13</sup> (head of the treasury) and *Kośādhyaksha*<sup>14</sup> (Superintendent of treasury), the two state-officials were associated with treasury as the custodian of national wealth, (*Kośa-nidhi*, P. V., VIII. 26).

1. P.T., II. 44.
2. Ibid., VI. 44.
3. Ibid., IX. 44.
4. Ibid., IX. 36—37.
5. Ibid., IX. 38.
6. Ibid., XI. 24.
7. Ibid., IX. 36, 44.
8. Ibid., VIII. 58.
9. Ibid., XI. 3.
10. Ibid., XI. 4.
11. *Bārhaspatya Sūtra*, IV. 27.
12. P.V., VIII. 26.
13. Ibid., II. 62.
14. Ibid., VIII. 26.



**Army (Sainyam)**

Army,<sup>1</sup> another important limb of a state, was variously styled *senā* (P. V., VI. 14), *pritanā* (P. V., VI. 3), *vāhinī* (P. V. IV. 68), and *Pārthiva sainya* i. e. royal army<sup>2</sup>, (P. V., VI. 13,15). Army-organisation and warfare played an important part in the life of a state. In the age of *Prithivīrāja* III, military science (*Astra-vidyā*<sup>3</sup> and *Yuddha-tatva*)<sup>4</sup> or *yuddha-śāstra* (*Devībhāgavata*, VIII. 21. 12) was an important subject of study. Similarly *Turaṅga-vidyā* (P. V., II. 34) and archery (P. V., IX. 62) were also very popular subjects of training. Archery had been glorified like the philosophy of *Vedānta*. (*Devībhāgavata* VII. 36. 4-7).

Since early times army consisted of four units (*chaturaṅga*) viz., infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants.<sup>5</sup> It became a common feature of an army in ancient India. *Kauṭilya* mentions these four units and their functions in war.<sup>6</sup> *Kauṭilya* also refers to the sixfold division of army viz. *maulabala*, *bhritabala*, *śreṇibala*, *mitrabala*, *amitrabala* and *aṭavī-bala*<sup>7</sup> "Of these, the *maulabala* appears to refer to the standing army of the state, recruited from families of hereditary soldiers, loyal to the ruling dynasty. It is referred to as inspired by the same feelings and interests as the king himself (*tadbhāva-bhāvin*) and as one constantly honoured by him (*Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, 9.2.14). The word 'maula' is derived from *mūla*, which often refers to the native land, the base from which the *Vijigīshu* starts on an expedition of conquest. Primarily then the expression means a native force. However, the *bhritabala* is also recruited from the natives of the land. The difference appears to consist in this that they do not form a standing army, but are recruited for a particular occasion. They are said to be quickly raised (*kshiprotthāyin*) and

1. P. V., IV. 69; XI. 13.

2. Ibid., X. 31, *nṛpa-sainya*.

3. Ibid., XII. 10.

4. Ibid., X. 30.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 66.24.69.3,6; 77.3; etc.  
Agni P., 228,6 ; 234,15.

6. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, X. 4.13-16 ; X. 5.53-56.

7. Ibid., X. 2.1,



dependable ( K. A., 9.2.15 ). The *bhṛitabala* is naturally regarded as inferior to the *maulabala*. "As to *śreṇībala*, it would appear to consist of guilds, normally following some peaceful avocation, but taking to arms in times of war, like the *śreṇis* referred to in 11,1,4. The *śreṇībala* is declared to be *jānapada*, that is native of the land, and having the same interests as the king (9.2.16). This type of *bala* appears to differ from the *bhṛitabala* in that it is organised in bands, each under its own *Śreṇīmukhya*, whereas in the latter each soldier is recruited individually. It is possible to understand *śreṇībala* to be something like bands of professional soldiers, mercenary bands, who lend their services to whosoever is willing to pay them. But such bands would hardly be described as *jānapada*. It is also not very likely that *Śreṇībala* refers to private armies maintained by merchant guilds for the protection of their caravans and trading posts, which might be loaned to the king; as Basham suggests (*The Wonder That Was India*, p. 128). Caravans appear to be given state protection in this text and charged *vartanī* road cess and *ātivāhika* convoy charges for the same; there is no reference to their own troops accompanying caravans."

"The troops of an ally which come to join in an expedition or to help in defence are the *mitrabala*, while troops belonging to some enemy, either conquered, borrowed, hired or purchased from him, constitute the *amitrabala*. The latter must be used with caution and under proper supervision. Lastly, the *aṭavībala* refers to forest tribes such as *Śabarās*, *Pulindas* and others. These are under their own chiefs. It seems that the enemy and forest troops are not to be paid regular wages, for it is stated that they should be maintained with *kupya*, minor produce, or that, in the alternative, they should be allowed to keep what plunder they may get in fighting. These two kinds of troops, in fact, look forward to plunder, and if there is no plunder to be had, it is said, they may prove dangerous (9.2.19-20)."<sup>1</sup>

1. Kangle, R. P., *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Part III, pp. 245-246.



Kāmandaka following Kauṭilya<sup>1</sup> also refers to chaturaṅgabala, kośa and mantra<sup>2</sup> in the enumeration of the political expedients (Upāyas, Canto XVIII). He states that daṇḍa (i. e. sainya-bala) should be used when the three expedients of Sāma, Dāna and Bheda have failed.<sup>3</sup> He should march with his sixfold army comprising maulam, bhritam, śreṇī (bala), suhṛida (bala), dvishadbala, and āṭavikabala.<sup>4</sup> Kāmandaka further deals with the comparative importance of these six kinds of army,<sup>5</sup> and their functions.<sup>6</sup> He concludes by the observations that chaturaṅga bala (comprising infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants) had been further divided into six groups from the view of recruitment and it is also divided into six kinds by the addition of mantra (counsel) and kośa (revenue-treasury) :

एतन्मौलादिषडभेदं चतुरङ्गं बलं विदुः ।

षडङ्गं मन्त्रकोशाभ्यां पदात्यश्वरथद्विपैः ॥<sup>7</sup>

Thus chaturaṅgabala has been classified into six kinds of army.<sup>8</sup>

Agni Purāṇa follows Kāmandaka. It also mentions it :

षडविधन्तु बलं व्यूह्य देवान् प्रार्च्य रिपुं व्रजेत् ।

मौलं भूतं श्रेणिसुहृद् द्विषदाटविकं बलं ॥<sup>9</sup>

1. Kāmandakiya Nītisāra, I. 6, offering salutation to Vishṇugupta (Kauṭilya)
2. Ibid., XVIII. 2.
3. Ibid., XIX. 1. In the earlier chapter also Kāmandaka had stated that 'revenue and counsel without troops constitute (primary) means of waging war for winning victory over the enemy (XVIII. 2).
4. Ibid., XIX. 2-3.
5. Ibid. XIX. 4-8.
6. Ibid., XIX. 9-23,
7. Ibid., XIX. 24.
8. Commentator explains it :  
इत्युक्तेन प्रकारेण मौलादिषडभेदं षट्प्रकारं चतुरङ्गबलं स्मृतम् ।  
(Kāmandakiya Nītisāra, Ānandāśram Edn. Poona, 1964, p. 415).
9. Agni P., 242. 1.



Agni Purāṇa gives the details of the functions of the different limbs of an army and its array.<sup>1</sup>

Matsya Purāṇa also refers to chaturaṅga bala.<sup>2</sup> Pramiti,<sup>3</sup> a great ruler and conqueror of the early medieval India, was accompanied by the army comprising elephants, horses and chariots.<sup>4</sup> Matsya tells us the utility and employment of the different units of an army in the different seasons and in different regions.<sup>5</sup> Chaturaṅga bala should be employed in autumn or winter;<sup>6</sup> infantry should be employed in suppressing an enemy in a country covered with trees;<sup>7</sup> elephants should be employed in a country where there is slight mud; horses should be used in an even country.<sup>8</sup> Infantry and elephant forces are recommended for their power and efficacy in the rainy season.<sup>9</sup> Cavalry and chariots should be employed in the seasons of Hemanta and Śīśira.<sup>10</sup> Agni Purāṇa (228. 5-7 i.) which has almost the same text as we get here, does not refer to Kharoshṭra bala mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa.<sup>11</sup> Kāmandaka lays down the suitability of these limbs of army in accordance with deśakāla.<sup>12</sup> (time and place).

1. Agni P., 242. 1-72.

2. Matsya P., 148. 86 (i); 213. 18 (i)

3. Studies in Skanda Purāṇa, Pt. I, pp. 185-187.

4. Matsya P., 143.53.

5. Ibid., 239.18-27.

6. Ibid., 239. 21 (i) :

चतुरंगबलोपेतां वसन्ते व शरद्वथि ।

7. Ibid., 239. 21 (ii) 22

8. Ibid., 239. 23

9. Ibid., 239. 19 (ii) :

पदानि सागबहुलां सेनां प्रावृषि योजयेत् ।

Here the text, which is faulty should be as we get from the Agni Purāṇa.

Agni P., 228.5 (ii) : पदानि सागबहुलां सेनां प्रावृषि योजयेत् ।

10. Matsya P., 239. 20 (i)

11. Dr. S. D. Gyani (Agni Purāṇa-A Study), Dr. B. B. Misra (Polity in the Agni P.) and Dr. S. G. Kantawala Cultural History From the Matsya Purāṇa) did not notice these Purāṇic observations in their respective works.

12. Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, XVI 6-13.

Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, IX. 1. 37—52.



In addition to the use of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, Matsya Purāṇa also refers to Kharoshṭrabala i. e. army consisting of mules and camels which was to be employed summer.<sup>1</sup> Matsya upholds the importance of Kharoshṭra in bala.<sup>2</sup> Thus according to the Matsya Purāṇa army comprised these two additional units added to make the fourfold army as a Shaḍaṅga bala. Kauṭilya also refers to troops consisting of horses, donkeys (or asses) and camels (Kharoshṭrāśvabala).<sup>3</sup>

Skanda Purāṇa, a work of the early medieval India, also refers to shadaṅga-bala, employed by king Indradymna.<sup>4</sup> of Mālavā.

Prithvīrāja Vijaya refers to Shaḍaṅgabala<sup>5</sup> i. e. army with its six wings viz., Karabha-bala<sup>6</sup> (camels), haya-saṅgha<sup>7</sup> (cavalry), ratha-chakra<sup>8</sup> (chariots), diggaja<sup>9</sup> (elephants), vṛisha-yūtha<sup>10</sup> (bullocks), padāti<sup>11</sup> (infantry). Ushṭrachamū (P. V. II. 74) and vṛisha are two new additions to the traditional four limbs (chaturaṅga) of the army. Agni Purāṇa (CCXLII. 1) also refers to Shaḍaṅginī senā. In a later period of Indian history, during the reign of Aurangzeb, bullocks were employed in great military enterprise, which yielded good dividends.<sup>12</sup> "The sandy nature of the country favoured

1. Matsya P., 239. 20 (ii) :

खरोष्ट्रबहुलां सेनां तथा ग्रीष्मे नराधिपः ॥

2. Ibid., 239. 24 (ii)

3. Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, IX. 1. 45.

4. Skanda P., II. ii. 12. 16 (i)

Cf Studies IN Skanda Purāṇa, Part I, P. 259

5. P. V., VIII. 26.

6. Ibid., II. 62.

7. Ibid., VIII. 26.

8. Ibid., IV. 69; XI-13.

9. Ibid., X. 31 nṛpa-sainya.

10. Ibid., XII. 10.

11. Ibid., X. 30.

12. Rājavilāsa, IX. 100 :

अद्व श्यनि तम अधिक, छलन रिपु इक्क कियो छल ।  
संड पंच सय शृङ्ख जोइ युग-युग हलाल झल ॥  
हैंकिय सोवर हेट, उभय चर अरि दल अभिमुख ।  
.....



camels as animals of transport. The *Prithivīrāja Vijaya* mentions them also as carrying *Chauhān* colours in the march against *Guḍapura*. The *Pratihāras* of *Kanauj*, from whom the *Chauhāns* inherited the usage, are known to have had a camel corps in their army. But as regards the system of fighting from their backs, it was an innovation due to Persians and *Durrānis* in the 18th century."<sup>1</sup> But *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also refers to camels employed in warfare.<sup>2</sup>

*Devibhāgavata Purāṇa*, an other work of 10th.—11th. centuries of the Christian era, also mentions camels (*dāseraka*) along with elephants, horses and foot-soldiers employed in a war.<sup>3</sup> The use of the word *dāserka* for camels here deserves some attention, for *Dāseraka* represents *Maru* i. e. the *Marwar* region in *Rajputana*.<sup>4</sup> "The sandy nature of the country favoured camels as animals of transport."<sup>5</sup> Thinkers laid great stress on the proper treatment and care of horses and elephants. As such *Hayāyurveda* (*Āyurveda* dealing with the diseases of horses and with the means of keeping them in sound health) and *Gajayurveda* (dealing with the medical treatment of the diseases of elephants)<sup>6</sup> had been developed for the care and cure of diseases of horses and elephants.

Bow (*dhanu*)<sup>7</sup> and sword (*kṛipāṇa*<sup>8</sup> or *khaḍga*)<sup>9</sup> were popular weapons of war. *Senāpati*,<sup>10</sup> (commander in-chief) and *Hayapati* (commander of the cavalry)<sup>11</sup> were two important military leaders. *Senāpati* was well-versed in the *vidhis* (practices) of *śāstra* and *astra* (P. V., II. 64).

1. E. Ch. D., p. 214.

2. *Bhāgavata P.*, VIII. 109 :

उष्ट्रैः केचिदिभैः केचिदपरे युयुधः खरैः ॥

3. *Devibhāgavata P. V.*, 27,5.

4. Sircar, D. C., *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 26 and note.

5. Cf *Tod, J.*, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthana*, Vol II, p. 264.

6. *Garuḍa P.*, I chapter 201,

7. P. V., IV. 68,70,71,74 etc.

8. *Ibid.*, VI. 110.

9. *Ibid.*, IX. 61.

10. *Ibid.*, II. 64.

11. *Ibid.*, X. 39; XI. 13.



Rājapūta warfare had unique halo of chivalry around the person of a kshatriya, whose flight from the battlefield was deemed to be a sin and he was afraid of apavāda<sup>1</sup>, public censure; for fighting was his sva-dharma.

### Vīra-dharma

As such Vīra-dharma (P. V., X. 32) was held high in Rājapūta-politics. Vīra-or Śūra is defined to be defender of his own country (sva-deśa). In this connection, we quote from Yogavasishṭha, a famous medieval text :

भगवच्छूरशब्देन कीदृशः प्रोच्यते भटः ।

स्वगलिकरणं कः स्यात् को वा डिम्भाहवोभवेत् ॥

Y. V., III. 31. 23.

The question is answered :—

परिपाल्यस्वदेशैक पालने यः स्थितः सदा ।

राजा मृतस्तदर्थं ये ते वीरा वीरलोकिनः ॥

Ibid., III. 31. 29

i.e. “परिपाल्यस्यावश्यं परिपालनार्हस्य स्वदेशस्य,

एक पालने मुख्य वृत्त्या रक्षणे स्थितः उद्युक्तः ।”

Vīra always stands stuck to the post of defending his own country—worthy of protection. Those who die there fighting for the country attain heaven. Prithivīrāja Rāso has numerous such references to the attainment of Viragati. Chanda maintains the same high ideals and aims of the life of a Śūra (Śūra) :

निर्मो सु सूर संग्राम भर, अरि अलंघि खंडे मुखल ।

सम धरै जग्य कारण सु कलि, विमल सिस्ट सुम्भै सकल ॥

आदि कथा ३१

Śūra's most sacred duty was dushta-davanam<sup>2</sup> or dushtadamanam<sup>3</sup> (destruction of the wicked) and thereby to restore the sanctity of the country :

पवित्रिता वीरसेन धात्री, मुहुर्तमात्रं नृपसैनिकानां ।

चाण्डालकी लालमलीमसे तु चिरस्य वीभत्सरसे ममज्ज ॥

P. V., VI. 13

1. P.V., X. 33.

2. Prithivīrāja Rāso, Ādi Kathā 1.

3. Harsha Inscription of Vighraharāja, Verse 22.



Hence Vīra-dharma was held very dear (dayitam vīra-dharmam)<sup>1</sup> and death in the battlefield led to the attainment of heavenly bliss. It is the old philosophy of Gītā,<sup>2</sup> which stimulated entire Rājapūta polity. Kṛishṇa styles it righteous war (dharma-yam saṅgrāmam).<sup>3</sup> It is the same as kshatra-vrata or kshatra-dharma of Smṛitis and Purāṇas.

### Fort

The importance of a fort for the safety was very great.<sup>4</sup> The foundation of such fortified cities like Ajmer (Ajayameru)<sup>5</sup> and others points to the importance of new fortifications. Jayānaka refers to Guḍapura-durga<sup>6</sup> (Gurgaon) and Naḍval, the Gurjara-durga.<sup>7</sup> Chāhamāna Rājadhānī was also fortified so as to protect the pious people from the destruction by the Rākshasas.

### Mitra

The discussion of mitrāmītra based on time and space is the most characteristic feature of medieval Hindu politics. Prithvīrāja Vijaya refers to three-fold allies (mitra-tritaya) viz. mitra, (ally), mitra-mitra (friend of the ally) and adhimitra (friend of ally's friend), whose alliance was to be secured to one's own side. On the other hand, there is a reference to three-fold enemies (amitra-traya) viz., enemy, enemy's friend, and friend of enemy's friend, who were to be conquered by all means (saṅgrihya mitratritayam nigrihyāmitratritayam chojjvalita prayatnāḥ).<sup>8</sup> Thus by following the policy of ancient statecraft supported by Upāyas and Śaktis, king could succeed in getting his hold over the twelve states.<sup>9</sup> Kaṭilya explains :

1. P. V., X. 32.
2. Gītā, II. 31-32.
3. Ibid., II. 33.
4. P. V., IV. 58.
5. Ibid., V. 192.
6. Ibid., X. 30-31.
7. Ibid., X. 50.
8. Ibid., I. 61.
9. Ibid., I. 67-68.



“The conqueror, his friend and his friend’s friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states. As each of these three kings possess the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements. Thus it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) circles of states having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the circles, are different from that of the conqueror. Thus there are four primary circles of states, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty and seventy two elements of states. Each of the twelve primary kings shall have their elements of sovereignty, power, and end. Strength is power and happiness is the end”.<sup>1</sup>

### Śaktis

Kauṭilya further adds that, “Strength is of three kinds : Power of deliberation is intellectual strength; the possession of a prosperous treasury and a strong army is the strength of sovereignty; and martial power is physical strength”.<sup>2</sup>

Three Śaktis<sup>3</sup> i. e. the three factors of power are the strength of powers (utsāha-śakti), the strength of material resources (Prabhāva-śakti) and the strength of counsel (Mantra-śakti). Rājalakṣmī embraces one, gifted with these three Śaktis,<sup>4</sup> which, according to Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, “are explained respectively to mean the strength of knowledge, that of the revenue and army and that of prowess”.<sup>5</sup>

### Siddhis

Prithvīrāja Vijaya adds to these three power’s, the three siddhis. “The three successes (Siddhis) are those achieved severally by the above means”.<sup>6</sup> Kauṭilya explains : “The end is also of three kinds, that which is attainable by

1. R. Shamsastri, K. A. S. (Eng. Tr. 1950), p. 291.

2. K. A. S., p. 291.

3. P. V., I. 67; V. 21; V. 84.

4. Ibid., X. 29.

5. A History of Indian Political Ideas (Calcutta 1959) p. 148.

6. Ibid., p. 138.



deliberation is the end of deliberation, that which is attainable by the strength of sovereignty is the end of sovereignty; and that which is to be secured by perseverance is the end of martial power".<sup>1</sup> Our text also refers to these three siddhis as prajñā, bala and utsāha,<sup>2</sup> the combination of which was believed to be effective.

### Upāyas<sup>3</sup>

Nīti, based on Śaktis and Siddhis, was also supplemented and supported by upāyas and 'guṇas' for the all-sided prosperity (udaya) of the State.<sup>4</sup> These are four viz., Sāma (conciliation or negotiation), Dāma (bribery), Daṇḍa (armed action, attack or punishment) and Bheda (dissension). According to our text a minister, well-versed in these expedients,<sup>5</sup> could bring sovereignty even to a minor<sup>6</sup> king.

### Shāḍguṇya

As it has been stated above 'guṇas' occupied an important place in the medieval Hindu thought. These guṇas or expedients to be employed by a king in foreign policy are also mentioned to be six viz., Sandhi (peace or alliance), vighraha (war), yāna (march or expedition), sthāna or āsana (halt), samśraya (shelter) and dvaidha or dvaidhībhāva (duplicity).<sup>7</sup> A king was proficient in shāḍguṇas in addition to his knowledge of upāyas etc.<sup>8</sup>

1. K. A. S., p. 291.

2. P. V., V. 104.

3. P. V., V. 24.

सचिवेन तेन सकलासु युक्तिषु, प्रवणेन तेन तत्किमपिकर्म निर्ममे ।

मुखपुष्करं शिशुतमस्ययत्प्रभोः परिचुम्ब्यतेस्म नवयौवनश्रिया ॥

4. Ibid., V. 104.

5. Ibid., IX. 44.

सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।

द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणांश्चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥

6. Ibid., V. 21.

7. Manu. VII. 160.

8. P. V., V. 24.

परिरक्षितुं क्षितिघ्नरस्य सद्गुणान् ॥



A minister was also required to be proficient in *shādgunya*.<sup>9</sup> According to *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, minister, like *Kadambavāsa* watched and protected the merits (*sadgunas*)<sup>10</sup> of a king. But the commentator, *Jonarāja* holds that the minister kept a close watch over the six fold policy of the king.<sup>11</sup>

Thus it is apparent that Hindu medieval thought laid great stress on *Rāja-vṛitta* (king's conduct), *Rāja-dharma* (king's duties) and *Rājanaya* (diplomacy), based on *Upāyas*, *Śaktis* and *Siddhis*. A fundamental change is to be found in the policy and treatment of the enemies, who were to be destroyed completely without showing any mercy or liberality towards them :—

हत्वा शत्रून्शेषयेत्.....मृदुःस्यान्नापकारिषु ।

Skanda P., VII. ii. 17. 93.

Even, weak and insignificant, enemy is not to be disregarded :

नोपेक्षितव्यो दुर्बुद्धिः शत्रुरत्नोऽस्यवज्रया ।

वह्निरत्नोऽप्यसंग्राह्यः कुरुतेभस्मसाज्जगत ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 72.

“He, who rests confident after having made a reconciliation with his enemy, is sure to fall one day like a man, who peacefully reposes on a tree-top”.

वैरिणा सह सन्धाय विश्वस्तो यदि तिष्ठति ।

स वृक्षाग्रे प्रसुप्तो हि पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 48.

Chanda Bardāi asserts :

जन्त जीव जगं न, तंत क्रम्म सिद्धि न होई ।

Pr. Rāso Bhima Bandha, 29.

9. P. V., VI. 44.

10. Ibid., IX. 37.

11. Ibid., p. 223 :

राजषड्गुणान्क्षितुं मन्त्रित्वं धारयति..... ।

Commentary to the Verse, IX. 37 of PV.



Kāmandaka also asserts :

नरेश्वरे जगत सर्वं निमीलति निमीलति ।

सूर्योदय इवाम्भोज तत्प्रबोधे प्रबुध्यते ॥

Kāmandakiya Nīṭisāra, IX. 40.

नयेन जाग्रत्यनिशं नरेश्वरे

सुखं स्वपन्तीह निराधयः प्रजाः ।

प्रमत्तचित्ते स्वपति त्रसद भयात्

प्रजागरेणास्य जगत् प्रवाध्यते ॥

Ibid., VII. 78.

Prithivīrāja III was taken unaware embossed in sloth and sensuous slumber. Moreover, "the only defect of a pardoning spirit is that its toleration is often mistaken for its weakness or incapability" :

एकः क्षमावतां दोषो द्वितीयो नोपपद्यते ।

यदेन क्षमया युक्तमशक्तं मन्यते जनः ॥

Garuḍa P., I. 114. 62.

Prithivīrāja III, followed the policy of Grahaṇa-moksha (gahana-moksha)<sup>1</sup> i. e. capturing and then liberating the lord of Gajjana i. e. Shahābuddīn Ghori :

मुक्तय बंधि गज्जन वयं

Pr. Raso, Ādikathā. 52.

He had attained great celebrity for this policy of *gahana-mokhana* which he followed towards the Sultāna—

सुरतान पान मोखन गहन... ।

Pr. Raso, Hansi Yuddha, 46.

It was the greatest blunder which Prithivīrāja III committed to bring national calamity in the country.

1. Pr. Rāso, Hānsī II Yuddha, 46.

Samudra Gupta also followed this policy in the course of his Deccan conquest.



### SECTION III

#### COLLAPSE OF ANCIENT INDIA—ITS CAUSES

"The astounding rapidity of the Turkish conquest constitutes an important problem for the students of Indian history. It is puzzling, nay almost baffling, to explain the almost complete collapse of Northern India, within an incredibly short time, before the onslaught of invaders whose power and resources were hardly equal to those of some of the bigger Hindu states, not to speak of a combination of them. It is natural that men should seek to solve the mystery and find out the real causes that lay behind the great political catastrophe that overwhelmed India. History would appear to be meaningless if facts of such outstanding importance cannot be viewed in their true perspective against a proper background. It is no wonder, therefore, that various speculations have been made and diverse solutions offered to the problem".<sup>1</sup> Dr. Majumdar adds :—

"Certain general considerations must, however, be borne in mind, while we approach the question in a critical spirit. To begin with, we are not sure of the essential facts on which all theories must necessarily be based. The history of the Muslim conquest of India is known, almost in its entirety, from the chronicles written by the Muslims. Apart from a few incidental notices or brief allusions, the Hindu sources are silent on this great episode. But "the picture of a victor, as painted by himself alone, can hardly be regarded as a reliable representation, or even an approximation to truth. The general outline may indeed be fairly correct, but it is impossible to accept, without question, those numerous details which colour the narrative and necessarily form the principal materials for our judgement."

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Struggle For Empire*, p. 125.



“This is well illustrated by the current story about the conquests of Muhammed Bakhtyar.....On the face of it, it appears incredible that Lakshmanasena should not have taken adequate steps to defend his frontier against a probable, one might say a known danger, or that his guards should have admitted, without question, the Turkish horsemen inside the capital city at a time when an invasion was apprehended at any moment. The extreme improbability of the situation almost necessarily implies that we have not the full story before us, and that if the defenders' version were known, much that appears incredible today would have appeared in a different light and we have taken a more rational view of the whole situation”.

Dr. Majumdar continues :—“So long, at least, as the main facts are not definitely established, it is idle to speculate on the causes that led to the debacle of the Hindus. It is equally unwarranted to attribute it solely to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct, and based on no sure knowledge of facts. It is true that we have a mass of literature and other data on this subject, but it is difficult to explain their bearing on the social evolution in different parts of India at different periods of time.”

“We have thus to grapple with great difficulty caused by the uncertainty in regard to facts—political, social and religious --which must form the essential data in any endeavour to probe the deeper cause underlying the broad fact of the Turkish conquest of India. This should make us pause in our laudable attempt towards a philosophical interpretation of historical facts, and turn our attention to the serious defects underlying all suggested solutions of the very interesting problem. In any case, we must moderate our zeal and fully realise that while it is incumbent on us to discuss the problem, any solution that we may offer at the present state of our knowledge cannot claim any scientific basis, far less, finality in character”.<sup>1</sup>

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, “The Struggle For Empire” (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana Bombay, 1957), pp. 125-126.



Thus after a rational view of the general observations expressed by other scholars regarding the collapse of Hindu power, Dr. R. C. Majumdar asserts : "Subject to these natural limitations we may refer to some of the causes of the downfall of the Hindus that appear probable in the light of the available data. The foremost among these seem to be the iniquitous system of caste and the absence of contact with the outside world. The first resulted in a fragmentation of Indian society into mutually exclusive classes, among whom the privileged minority preserved their vested interests by depriving the masses of many civic rights, specially of education and of free intercourse and association on equal terms with their fellowmen, and further, by imposing on them the most irritating disabilities on the one hand, and a tremendous weight of innumerable duties and obligations towards the privileged classes on the other. And this evil led to another. It bred among the leaders of the Indian people a vain pride in isolationism and insularity and that attitude of arrogance which has been noticed by Al Beruni.....This spirit of exclusive superiority was created and maintained by a process of intellectual fraud, inasmuch as almost the entire literature of the period was utilised for this purpose and the masses were asked to follow it blindly in the name of the Holy Writ, to question whose authority was an unpardonable sin. It became thus a part of the Hindu dharma not to cross the seas or even the territorial limits of certain hallowed areas. This insularity contributed largely to the supineness of the Indian chiefs, and their utter lack of appreciation of the higher values of patriotism and national freedom in the context of India as a whole, apart from the narrow geographical regions in which they lived. Consequently they were unable to comprehend the far reaching importance of, and the proper measures for, frontier defence, in view of the great political changes and evolution in military tactics which were taking place in the world outside".

"The degraded level to which the majority were pushed down made them indifferent to country-wide dangers and "kindred problems. This alone made possible the woeful



situation that while the invaders swept across the country, the masses mostly remained inert. The people of the land, with a few exceptions, were indifferent to what was happening around them. Their voice had been hushed in silence by a religio-social tyranny. No public upheaval greets the foreigners, nor are any organised efforts made to stop their progress. Like a paralysed body, the Indian people helplessly look on, while the conqueror marches on their corpse. They look staggered, for a moment, only to sink back into a pitiable acquiescence to the inevitable to which they have been taught to submit".

"Then again, the false ideals of Kshatriya chivalry, taught them by their mentors, made the Rajput princes paralyse one another by perpetual internecine conflicts, and what was more fatal, made them oblivious of a broad national vision and patriotic sentiment".

"This alone can explain why or how, at a time when the country was threatened with grave peril, the rulers of the land devoted the best part of their energies in mutual fighting. The enormous wealth of the country was spent in building and enriching the temples which they proved unable to protect, whereas the most appropriate use for these resources should have been to organise a common defence against the invaders, backed by a national effort. On the contrary it was the very fabulous wealth of these defenceless temples and sacred towns which invited the foreigners and contributed greatly to the consequent disaster".<sup>1</sup>

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal also discusses the problem at length (Chap. XVII of his book—"Studies in Indian History and Culture", Calcutta 1957). He says :—"The conquest of the principal kingdoms of Northern India by the Muslim Turks leading to their incorporation in the Sultanate of Delhi during the closing years of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century A. D. and the overthrow of all the powerful "dynasties of Southern India by the same mighty power almost a century afterwards constitute.....the true dividing line between the Ancient and the Medieval periods of our

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1. Struggle For the Empire, pp, 126-128.



history, as they signify one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of our ancient culture. It is therefore, no wonder that the causes of this impressive phenomenon have engaged the attention of thoughtful Indians for some time past. The discussion was started over half a century ago by a distinguished Indian administrator, author and historian, the late Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt of the Indian Civil Service. In the concluding Chapter (Book V, Chap. XV) of his work 'A History of Civilisation of Ancient India' (Calcutta, 1890) the author begins by quoting with approval Alberuni's famous statement charging Hindus of his time in contrast with their predecessors with intellectual narrowness and arrogant self-conceit born of their neglect of foreign travel. This forms the prelude to the author's sombre picture of the political, social, and religious condition of Northern India during the period of three or four centuries preceding the Muslim conquest. The main counts of his indictment are that India was then in the last stage of her political decline (because of her being parcelled out among warring petty kings and chiefs), that there was a gradual degeneracy of the people accompanied with the growing power of the priests (indicated by the degradation of the Vaiśyas to the level of Śūdras and the subsequent formulation of the bold myth that all who were not Brāhmaṇas were Śūdras), that even in the sphere of manners (as is proved by Alberuni's pointed reference to the pitiable lot of widows). Hinduisim was in the last stage of degeneracy, and that in contrast with the educated few who had the monopoly of the noble Upanishad faith in the unity of God, the common people were treated with idols and temples as well as unmeaning rites performed by the Brāhmaṇas. To the above the author adds after Alberuni that the Hindu astronomers seriously reproduced silly conceptions and ancient myths along with their advanced theories and that Hindu medical science was mixed up with much "superstition and was the monopoly of a few. Concluding his damning estimate with a striking historical parallel, the author observes that India in the tenth and eleventh centuries represented the Middle Ages of Europe with one essential difference. This lay in the fact that while the feudal Barons of Europe ultimately



mixed with the people and thus infused a new and vigorous life into the modern nations, the Indian caste-system prevented such a fusion and the isolated Kshatriyas fell a swift prey to the foreign invaders”.

“The problem of the causes of the headlong downfall of the Indian powers in the closing years of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries has been discussed afresh by some Indian scholars in very recent times. In Chapter XII of his thoughtful work ‘A Survey of Indian History’ (1947), which bears the title ‘India on the eve of Muslim Contact’, Sardar K. M. Panikkar gives a short but comprehensive survey of the condition of the country during the period preceding the Turkish conquest. Because of their complete immunity from foreign invasions for more than five hundred years before the time of Mahmud of Ghazni (a period of isolation unexampled in the history of world), we read, the people lost their sense of patriotism and national honour, while they were killed (as is shown by Alberuni’s statement quoted above) with consuming arrogance about their superiority to other nations. The same cause led to the weakening of the springs of national greatness, namely rigid discipline, joint endeavour for upholding the cultural values and subordination of material interests to the public welfare. Tracing the resulting decadence of India’s civilization in defferent spheres of life, the author observes that the originally academic ideas of the four castes as well as food and drink taboos were now accepted as divine regulations and enforced with surprising rigidity, that the style of artificial poetry (kāvyā) degenerated into the display of extravagant conceits and artificial constructions as well as long and sensuous descriptions of debaucheries, that architecture and sculpture betrayed the same degeneration of taste, that left hand’ (Vāmamārga) religious practices took up deep root and infected even the advanced seats of learning that the monasteries became the centres of luxury, idleness, and vice. The general loosening of the moral code, the author continues, is testified to by the development of the devadāsī system (meaning the custom of temple prostitution), the composition of works on the lives of prostitutes by men of



the highest social position and of known purity of life, as well as the obscene Tāntric literature and temple sculptures of the time. The crystallisation of the social life is indicated by the strict enforcement of the rigours of widow-hood in high-class families. To the above the author adds that great disparity of wealth existed between the mercantile classes and the ordinary villagers, that a regular bureaucracy constituted the structure of Indian government and that Indian kingdoms were organised on a semi-military basis with large, though inefficient armies. While the Hindu social structure, the author sums at the end not without some degree of inconsistency, had undergone a reorganisation which made it capable of resisting external pressure and the Hindu religion had received a vigorous impetus with forms and beliefs satisfying the masses and the intellectuals, while economic life was prosperous with accumulated wealth derived from five centuries of peace, the political structure was based on a corrupt bureaucracy and was weakened by the complete absence of patriotism and the idea of united resistance against the foreigner. A less complete analysis of the causes of collapse of the Ancient Indian political civilization has been presented by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his work *Ancient India* (Banaras 1952). In his penultimate Chapter (Chap. XXI) significantly called 'Degradation of Hindu Society', the author attributes the narrow exclusiveness of the Hindu people in contrast with the catholicity of their predecessors (as testified to by Alberuni in the extract above cited) to two factors. These are the rigidity of the caste-system following the Brāhmīnical revival and the degradation of the position of women. In so far as the first factor is concerned, the Brāhmaṇas, we read, "succeeded in establishing not without a hard and continuous struggle and in the teeth of opposition of the Kshatriyas, the essential features of the caste system comprising the ascendancy of their own order, the determination of caste by birth and the prohibition of inter-marriage and inter-dining among the castes, these features having no sanction in their ancient scriptures. Thereafter Brāhmaṇas consolidated their position by introducing in utter violation of the letter and spirit of the ancient scriptures the new elements comprehending



the doctrine of impurity of the Śūdra's food and touch and the restriction of the numbers of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas till they practically vanished from the Indian society and their descendants sank to the level of Śūdras. In this process of their self-aggrandisement the Brāhmaṇas were helped by the fact that the Rājapūts who were descendants of the foreign Hūṇas and Gurjaras as well as the aboriginal tribes, after being raised to the rank of Kshatriyas, had to look up to them for their social prestige and status. Among the other evils of the caste system the author enumerates firstly the degeneration of the artisans and craftsmen; secondly the perpetuation of class interests preventing the development of a truly national sentiment; and thirdly the rise of a spirit of haughty exclusiveness which had the effect of closing the Hindu mind to the progress of science and specially of military science among other Asiatic nations. These statements are supported by quotation of a long extract from the work of Mr. R. C. Dutt, above mentioned, as well as by reference to striking parallel drawn by the same author between Ancient Indian and Medieval European History. Turning to the second factor Dr. Majumdar seeks somewhat inconclusively to prove degraded position of women just before the Turkish conquest by a number of quotations from the *Manu-Smṛiti*, a work belonging (as is well known) to the first two centuries before and after Christ. It remains to mention that the author in Chapter XIV mentions as a distinctive feature of the public administration of the post-Gupta period the tendency towards the weakening of popular control and the establishment of an unchecked bureaucracy or autocracy in its place".

"A much fuller discussion of the causes of downfall of the Ancient Indian kingdoms at the hands of the Turkish invaders, repeating some of the reflections of Sardar K. M. Panikkar quoted above, is that of Dr. A. L. Srivastava in his 'Sultanate of Delhi' (2nd Ed., 1953). In the chapter of his work bearing the title "Our country on the eve of the Arab Invasion of Sindh", the author sums up his brief historical survey by stating that although the condition of the people was good in other respects, the main drawback was the lack of political unity and the patriotic sense. In Chapter III entitled



"India on the eve of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion" we are told that the Indian kings were weakened by the decline of the paramount powers the Pratihāras and the Pālas in the North and mutual conflict between the later Chālukyas and the Cholas in the South, while the three centuries of immunity from foreign invasions since Arab conquest of Sind led the Indian rulers to neglect their armies and their frontier defence. For the reason last mentioned the Indian people lost touch with the new systems of warfare, and while losing completely their sense of patriotism and national ardour, they imbibed the belief (testified to by Alberuni) that they were a chosen people who could not associate with others. The decadence of India's civilization following from her complete isolation during the same period, the author continues, is proved firstly by degradation of literature and the fine arts; secondly by the rigidity of the caste rules (as illustrated by enforcement of the rigours of widow-hood and of food and drink taboos); thirdly, by the degradation of religion (testified to by the popularity of Vāmamārga and its evil influence even upon the advanced centres of learning; fourthly and lastly, by the moral degradation of the upper and middle classes (as is witnessed by the extension of the Devadāsī system, the development of the Tantric literature and composition of works on the lives of prostitutes by the greatest scholars of the time). Though the country was economically rich and generally prosperous, the author concludes, there was a great "disparity of wealth between the ruling families, the nobles and the merchant princes on the one hand and the village folk on the other. Again in Chapter VI of his work called "Muhammad of Ghur" the author distinguishes between the general and the special causes of the Indian defeat at the hands of the Sultan, Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghur. Under the first head he mentions the lack of political unity and capable leadership among the Indians and their outworn military system as well as the lack of co-operation between the masses and their leaders, while by contrast he speaks of the use of the shock tactics by both the Sultans which paralysed the Indian resistance as well as the tremendous religious and military enthusiasm of the Turks, we read, the



Indians neglected to find out the enemy's strength and the geography of the country before hand, and further to ravage the enemy's lands for cutting of his supplies : their armies unlike those of Turks were wanting in the two divisions of the advanced guards and the reserve in contrast with the Turkish favourite weapon of the bow and the arrow the Indians were equipped with the sword, while unlike the mobile Turkish cavalry their strength lay in elephants. Repeating in part the above arguments in the last Chapter (Chapter XIX) bearing the title "The Sultanate in retrospect", the author observes that the factors enabling the invaders rapidly to overrun Hindustan were firstly impossibility of effective combination against the foreigner because of parcelling out of the country into numerous independent states; secondly the political apathy of the masses and their lack of patriotism, thirdly and above all, the use of shock-tactics by the two 'Sultans'. Dr. Ghoshal observes that, "It will appear from a consideration of the views set forth above that they present in their totality an admirably comprehensive survey of the condition of the country facilitating its conquest by the Turkish invaders. As these views appear nevertheless on closer inspection to be imperfect in some respects and misleading on other points, we propose to discuss the whole question somewhat fully under a number of different heads".<sup>1</sup>

#### "1. Political Factor

The view that India on the eve of the Muslim conquest was parcelled out among petty kings and chiefs justifying the further statement that she was then in the last stage of her political decline is beyond doubt a gross historical exaggeration . . . . . It is true that throughout this last period of independence of the Ancient Indian dynasties there was no single state of the size of the Empire of the Mauryas. Nevertheless the distinctive feature of the Indian political situation of the time was not the parcelling out of the country among petty kings and chiefs but its division into a relatively limited number of large territorial states with several centuries of existence to their credit. With this, we may mention that old imperial

1, Studies in Indian History & Culture, pp. 505-507,



ideal was still such a living force as to prompt the leading Indian rulers frequently to make a bold bid for empire in the traditional fashion. The political history of the period, accordingly, is one of the almost unceasing struggle between a few powerful states for supremacy which doubtless had the result of frittering away the economic and military resources of the country at the time of its sorest peril and what is more, of creating an atmosphere of mutual distrust among the contending states which prevented the effective combination against the common foe..... even the divisions of the Indian princes by prolonging their resistance and weakening the invader's strength helped to slow down the progress of Islam in India. On the other hand the facts of history bear out in substance the charge of lack of capable leadership among the Indians. It is indeed remarkable that even the crisis of the series of foreign invasions failed to produce a single leader of sufficiently commanding political and military talents to unite the Indians of his time—as Chandra Gupta Maurya had united long before the people of Indus valley against the Macedonian garrison left behind by Alexander, for the overthrow of the foreign enemy. In the pussillanimous submission of Rājyapāla, the last Pratīhāra king of Kanauj to Mahmud of Ghazni and the successful raid of 'Ikhtyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji against the defenceless Buddhist monks of Bihar, we have striking examples of the opportunity which the political vacuum caused by the decay of the old empires from time to time gave to the daring enemy from outside. That the Indian kings nevertheless with all their political and military weakness were capable of beating back the enemy in the open battle-field is proved by the crushing victories won over Sultan Muhammad of Ghur by Bhim II, the king of Gujarat in 1178 as well as by prithvīrāja, the Chauhānaruler of Ajmer and Delhi in 1191. To this, we have to add that in the tenth century the Pratīhāras of Kanauj according to the admission of the Muslim historians themselves, were strong enough militarily and politically to present a successful barrier against the incursions of the Arab invaders from their base in Sind. Turning to another statement that because of the centuries of their immunity from foreign attack the Indians utterly lost their patriotic sense and



were infected with political apathy, it is inconceivable on a priori grounds that the masses even in the hard school of their experience of the barbarous methods of warfare of the invaders could not be roused from their alleged old time lethargy to a sense of urgent need of self-defence. In truth we may infer from the prolonged resistance offered even by the petty chiefs in their strongholds and the people in their selected areas that the masses were by no means lacking in the will and the power to resist the enemy even at the risk of his barbarous reprisals. The Indians, indeed, are repeatedly recorded as taking advantage of the weakness of individual Sultans to recover their lost territories, or at least to keep them in constant turmoil so that the more powerful of the foreign rulers had to begin their task of reconquest afresh. Whether in the circumstances of the situations the Indians could be expected to imbibe a common national sentiment or to maintain the springs of national greatness..... may be seriously questioned. As regards the internal structure of the Indian states, it may be stated that.....there is nothing to show that the evil "was made worse in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest. On the contrary the occasional hints from our authentic sources, such as the tribute paid by the Muslim historians of the period to the honesty and efficiency of the rulers as well as their officials. What little reliance can be placed upon the confident reference to a general drift towards unchecked bureaucracy or autocracy during the post—Gupta period has been sought to be proved in another place..... The real weakness of the Indian administrations lay in the influence of great feudatory families whose power and ambition constituted a perpetual threat to the stability of the central Government..." (Dr. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 501-510)

As regards military factor Dr. Ghoshal does not accept the view that, "The Indians through the long history of the Turkish conquest of their country were prevented by their inheritance of caste and their legacy of prolonged immunity from foreign attack from learning the lessons of new system of



warfare".<sup>1</sup> On the other hand he holds, "In truth it was not for their rules of caste and their geographical aloofness but for their want of leaders with sufficient talents that the Indians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries failed to adapt their time-honoured system of warfare..... to the requirements of the new situation. Incidentally it is worth remembering that the alleged isolation of India for the longest period in the history of any country is disproved by the recorded instances of more or less extensive exchanges of visits between the Buddhist monks of India on the one side and those of China and Tibet on the other during the tenth and the eleventh centuries which resulted in translation of large number of Buddhist texts into the sacred literature of those lands. It is, however, correct to state that the shock tactics-the sudden raid followed by the equally swift victorious return home-which was frequently resorted to by the two great Sultans of the houses of Ghazni and Ghur was one of the main secrets of their success".<sup>2</sup> He adds :... "While the inferiority of the Indians in strategy, tactics "and military equipment is an admitted fact, their other defects can be fully realised only by a contrast with their adversaries. Thus unlike the armies of the invaders fighting under one undivided command, those of the Indians largely consisted of contingents of the feudatory chiefs fighting under their own leaders. Again, unlike the invaders who derived their will to victory from an unparalleled religious enthusiasm, the Indian fighting classes were inclined as a rule to fight more for the exhibition of individual valour and vindication of personal honour than for collective success".<sup>3</sup> Further Dr. Ghoshal ascribes the collapse of Hindu power to 'the surprising lack of vigilance', 'Indian treachery to the common cause' and 'lack of the employment of diplomacy'.<sup>4</sup> "As regards the social factor, the views that the Indian social system in its later phase involved the conversion of academic doctrines into realities that it marked the triumph of a cunning and unscrupulous priesthood in the attempt to establish its supremacy in

1. Studies in Indian History & Culture, p. 511.

2. Ibid., p. 511.

3. Ibid., pp. 529-530.

4. Ibid., p. 513.



violation of the letter and spirit of the ancient scriptures and in the teeth of the determined opposition of the other classes, are both disproved by the facts of history. In truth, the later social developments with their inevitable tightening of the disabilities of special classes, instead of being the chief cause of India's ruin, helped her (and herein lay their principal historical justification) to salvage much of her ancient cultural heritage from the imminent danger of wreckage by a relentless and determined foe".<sup>1</sup> He does not give credence either to women's disability, or to moral degradation. He also does not believe in the theory of economic disparity due to want of sufficient information. Dr. Ghoshal concludes: "Coming lastly to the literary and artistic factors, we have to mention that the period preceding the Muslim conquest produced a considerable output of literary and scientific works, while it witnessed continuations of the traditional architectural styles and schools of sculpture and painting, thus indicating that old literary and artistic impulses were still living inspirations through out our land."<sup>2</sup> Thus Dr. Ghoshal has cleared much of the misty speculations.

Dr. Dashrath Sharma also discusses, in his book entitled 'The Early Chauhān Dynasties' (Delhi 1959, Chapter XXVII), the causes of the downfall of the early Chauhān kingdoms. Really the fall of the Chauhāns heralded the fall of Ancient India. He observes :

"None who has gone through these pages would regard lack of valour as one of the causes of Chauhān failure. Muslim as well as Hindu historians bear incontestable testimony to the fact that the valiant Chauhān knew well how to die and sell their lives dear. Many a time they fought on, even when there was not the least chance of success, because they considered it disgraceful to surrender or flee.\* To them

1. Studies in Indian History and Culture, p. 530.

2. Ibid., p. 531.

\*Cf.

बलादेव समादत्ते क्षत्रियो बलिनां पुरः ।

लोहं शृङ्खलबद्धावान वशं यान्ति कातराः ॥ मार्कण्डेय पु०, १२१।१३

For—

क्व क्षत्रियकुले जन्म क्व याञ्चा हीन सेविता । वही, १२१।१२



nothing was more meritorious than to die fighting on the battlefield. Nor was the failure of the Chauhāns due to any lack of religious fervour ..... And equally difficult it is to agree with the dictum of those who ascribe the fall of the Chauhāns to the lack of generalship among their leaders. Vighraharrāja IV and Kīrtipāla were all leaders of note, in no way inferior to their Muslim adversaries, the Yāminis of Ghazna and Muhammad of Ghor".<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sharma observes : "We have to look elsewhere than the lack of religious fervour, lack of military skill and lack of valour for the downfall of the Chauhāns. Partly, it was due to the caste system, which ..... had disastrous effects in the political field. It prevented not only the amount of fusion necessary for the creation of a strong people but also kept away a large number of people from the profession of fighting ..... In some measure the downfall must have been due also to luxury and idleness fostered by many years of continued prosperity". Dr. Sharma continues :

"We have to remember also that virtue carried too far turns into vice. The Chauhāns' adherence to Śāstras, when fighting against their own countrymen was perhaps commendable. But it was suicidal in the fight against an alien race which recognised no such rules. Similarly, it was good to be religious, it was bad to be superstitious. A society, which turned Mlechchha victor into Rudra (Kanhda de prabandha II, 131-4) eager to cut the heads of Kshatriyas, and ascribed all mishaps to its own past deeds (Ibid. I, 158. 174) was bound to suffer".....  
 .....Equally or even more fatal to their political existence was their failure to evolve a political and military system enough to fight and unite India against invaders".....  
 .....Results as good as that of a strong centralised state might have been secured also, if the Rājapūts had learnt to cut down the powers of the feudal lords and feudatories, sunk their mutual differences and evolved somehow the idea of a federation".<sup>2</sup>

1. E. Ch. D., pp. 321-322.

2. Ibid., pp., 322-326.



Thus ends the analysis of Dr. Sharma with the observations : "united we stand, divided we fall". Prithivīrāja Vijaya (III. 3) like the other works of the age also upholds the urgency of 'aikātmīyam' and the destruction of Paśuvṛitti (hostility). It was the fury or ferocity of Rudra alone which could be equated to that of the Mlechchhas and it is fully borne out by the study of Prithivīrāja Vijaya which repeatedly refers to the tyranny and terror of the Mlechchhas (Mātaṅga-mahābhaya). The cutting of the heads of the Kshatriyas by these Raudra-Mlechchhas due to their past deeds has a grain of political admonition given to these Kshatriyas for their faults and failings. Samarsi (Samarsimha) delivers to his brother-in-law an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity.....".<sup>1</sup>

Dr. R.B. Singh (H.Ch.pp.,224-232) holds—"The Chāhamānas were defeated by the Turks .....not because the latter were more war-like and stronger than the former or had a superior force and better equipments and weapons. We have seen that the Chāhamānas had established their superiority in valour by defeating the Turks in successive engagements and in 1191 A.D. Prithivīrāja inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahab-ud-din Ghorī.....But inspite of this he repeated his invasion only a year after. This clearly indicates that something had gone amiss during the short interval between the two wars and the Sultan felt encouraged to take advantage of the same... ..The main weakness of India.. .....lay in the political divisions of the country, and... ..the Hindu kings..... failed to put up a concerted effort against a common enemy .....This internecine warfare was further responsible for the neglect of the north-western frontier .....The race for political supremacy in Northern India between Prithivīrāja and Jaya Chandra was bound to have far reaching results and the former's victory against the Ghorian Sultan in 1191 A.D. helped to accelerate their political rivalry to such an extent that the Gahaḍavāla king probably took to the performance of a Rājasūya Yajña to counterbalance the enhanced prestige of the Cnāhamāna sovereign. The climax was, however, reached

1. Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthana, 1957, Vol. I, p. 209.



when Prithvīrāja abducted the Gahaḍavāla princess from her marriage paṇḍāl. Thus Prithvīrāja's triumphal exit from Kanauj established his political supremacy in the whole of Northern India. But this battle cost him the flower of his army and he lost some of his most veteran generals in action" (H. Ch., pp. 225-226). Dr. Singh ascribes the Chāhamāna defeat to a complete lack of foresight and utter disregard of the war strategy on the part of Prithvīrāja, and .....his sense of security,..... a false notion of his own power and an underestimate of his enemy's strength,..... a life of ease and comfort .....reliance on the words of his enemy;..... the superior strategy of the Sultan....." (H. Ch., pp. 227-228). Lastly Dr. Singh, too, takes recourse to the evils of social (H. Ch., pp. 229-231) and religious systems (H. Ch., pp., 231-232). But Dr. Singh has also failed to discuss the problem in the light of contemporary evidences particularly on the basis of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya.

The message transmitted by Prithvīrāja Vijaya is not properly received. So I reiterate that it is not the vagueness or the paucity of information regarding this episode but only because of the fact that most of our receivers do not work correctly. The author of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya asserts 'Kāma' to be the principal vice. Further he asserts that indulgence with Tilottamā (or other women) in the enjoyment of pleasures could not bring to him the coveted office of paramountcy.<sup>1</sup> Almost all the texts of this age assert 'woman' to be the main factor responsible for the downfall of our political power. Bṛihat-kathākośa asserts that Bhārata Yuddha was fought for the sake of a woman<sup>2</sup>, and similarly, it observes, that Rāma-Rāvaṇa war was also fought for the

1. P. V., XII. 32 :

वव ललाम तिलोत्तमा दिवः ।  
प्रभुता च वव मनुष्यमण्डले ॥

2. Bṛhatkathākośa, LXXXIII. 116 :

कुरुणां पाण्डवैः सार्धं तव रामा निमित्तकं ।  
बभूव भारतयुद्धं बहुसत्त्वक्षयावहम् ॥



sake of a woman.<sup>1</sup> It adds that many other wars had been fought for the sake of women, who are the root cause of people's trouble.<sup>2</sup> Its author relates a story to support his contention. He tells us that there was in Sāketa a king named Devaratī whose enemies were destroyed. But he was intensely indulged with his chief queen neglecting the other queens and paying no heed to the state affairs. His country was besieged by the enemies but the king still stayed with his chief queen. Seeing such a calamitous state of affairs in the country and king's attachment with the queen at the cost of his state-administration, feudatories, ministers, heads of the State-Departments and Purohita placed his son on the throne<sup>3</sup>. Thus we see that this king lost his throne due to his adherence to the vyasana<sup>4</sup>. of Kāma. The learned author seems to portray the life of Prithivīrāja III in this story. For the Rāso alleges that after the conclusion of his conquests Jaya Chandra prepared to celebrate the Rājsūya Yajña as a mark of universal supremacy, which was to culminate in the svayamvara (self-selection of the bride-groom) of his daughter Samyogitā. Invitations were sent to all princes to attend the ceremony, but Prithivīrāja Chauhāna and Samara Simha of Mewār refused to come. Jaya Chandra caused effigies of them to be made of gold and in order to humiliate them placed these representations in a position that indicated low rank. Prithivīrāja took the insult to heart; he suddenly attacked Kanauj and carried away the not-unwilling princess, who appears to have cherished love for him. Chanda holds that this friction between Jaya Chandra and Prithivīrāja was the cause that led to Sihabuddin Ghorī's invasion resulting in the fall of both<sup>5</sup>.

1. Brihatkathākośa, LXXXIV-56 :

राम रावण सम्बन्धं बहुसत्त्वक्षयावहम् ।  
स्त्री निमित्तमिदं जातं लोके रामायणं पुनः ॥

2. Ibid., LXXXIV 57 :

अन्यान्यपि च जातानि घोर युद्धानि भूतले ।  
नराणां स्त्रीकृते कष्टं मूलं युद्धस्य योषितः ॥

3. Ibid., LXXXV-1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

4. Ibid., LXXXV-24.

5. Dr. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, 1960, p. 325-326.



Thus Saṁyogitā was not only responsible for the hostile relations and quarrel between the two great rulers of Northern India viz., Jaya Chandra and Prithivīrāja, but the latter seems to have been passionately and intensely lost in the love of the newly wedded queen at the cost of state and government. This was the main reason for which Samar Simha, his brother-in-law, seems to have delivered an indignant lecture on his unprincely inactivity. It is for this reason that Prithivīrāja Vijaya lays all stress on Kāma and the charming features of Prithivīrāja, who looked more attractive to women than Kāma himself. This is further supported by Prithivīrāja's visit to his chitra-maṇḍapa where the picture of Tilottamā had such an adverse effect on the mind and heart of the Chāhamāna hero, that he forgot himself and his state-duties. The intense attachment of Prithivīrāja with the damsel led the minister Prthvībhata to realise his mistake, for it was he who had his patron to his picture-hall. The minister realised that by carrying Prithivīrāja to picture-hall, where the two lovers, Prithivīrāja and Tilottamā, had lost their duality, he had done undoubtedly a great harm, as king's mind was severely wounded by the arrows of Lord Cupid.<sup>2</sup> It is at this stage that the minister exclaims with intense sorrow that a woman was the greatest obstacle in the path of attaining the status of paramountcy.<sup>3</sup> Somadeva Sūrī, a great medieval thinker, also holds the same view regarding influence of the feminine contact and charm. (Yaśastilaka, I. 76-80) He asserts :

तावद्गुरवो गण्यास्तावत्स्वाध्याय धीरतं चेतः ।

यावन्न मनसि वनितादृष्टिविषं विशति पुरुषाणां ॥

Yaśastilaka, I. 76.

1. Tod. A. A. R., Vol. I. 209.

2. P. V., 29-31 :

अनुबन्धमवेक्ष्य तादृशं क्षितिभर्तुस्सुरसुन्दरींप्रति ।

गणयन्नपराधमात्मनोमनसीत्थंपृथिवीभटोम्यघात् ॥

उपमानपदे तिलोत्तमां यदि मन्त्री विदधे श्रियं प्रति ।

अपरीक्ष्य पुनस्तदीदृशं कथमर्थं तदनुदितं मया ॥ ३० ॥

इदमीदृगनर्थं संशयं कथमालेख्य गृहं च दर्शितम् ।

अनयन्मदनः शरण्यतां विशतो यत्न महीपते मनः ॥ ३१ ॥

3. Ibid., XII. 32 :

क्व ललाम तिलोत्तमा दिवः प्रभुता च क्व मनुष्य मण्डले ।

.....पुरुषस्य नेदृशी, घटनेयं पुरुषोत्तमं विना ॥ ३२ ॥



तावत्प्रवचन विषयस्तावत्परलोक चिन्तनोपायः ।  
यावत्तरुणी विभ्रमहतहृदयो न प्रजायेत् ॥

Yāśastilaka, I. 77.

गुरुवचनस्य हि वृत्तिस्तत्र न यत्रास्ति संगमः स्त्रीभिः ।  
अबलालापजलप्लववधिरित कर्णे कुतोऽवसरः ॥

Ibid., I. 78.

संसर्गे गुणा अपि भवन्ति दोषास्तदद्भुतं नैव ।  
स्थितमधरे रमणीनाममृतं चेतांति कलुषयति ॥

Ibid., I. 79.

लटहैर्युवति कटाक्षंगाढमगुरुतां जनः स्वयं नीतः ।  
चित्रमिदं ननु यत्तां पश्यति गुरुबन्धुमित्रेषु ॥

Ibid., I. 80.

Thus we see that this great political thinker also holds woman to be one of the many evils (*bahu pratyūha vyūha.....*)<sup>1</sup>. He, however, strongly holds that the pleasures of love based on the enchanting eyes or other parts of a female's body enchain a man.<sup>2</sup> Daṇḍi, another eminent thinker, refers to such vices as based on the sportive pleasures of love, wine and woman in his *Daśa-Kumāra Charita*.

असावपि गुरूपदेशमिवात्यादरेण तस्यमतमन्ववर्तत् । तच्छीलानुसारिण्यश्च प्रकृतयो विशृङ्खलमसेवन्त व्यसनानि । सर्वश्च समानदोषतया न कस्यच्छिद्रान्वेषणायायतिष्ठ । समान भर्तृ प्रकृतयस्तन्त्राध्यक्षा स्वानि कर्मफलान्यभक्षयन् । ततः क्रमादायद्वाराणि व्यशीर्यन्त । व्ययमुखानि विटवैधेयतया विभोरहरहर्व्यवर्धन्त । सामन्तपौरजनपदमुख्याश्च समानशीलतयोपारूढविश्रम्भेण राज्ञा सजायाः पानगोष्ठीष्वभ्यन्तरीकृताः स्वं स्वमाचारमत्यचारिषुः ।

Daśa Kumāra Charita, Uttarapīṭhikā, VIII. 22.

Such was the degradation of the court life based on the enjoyment of woman that all the sources of strength and stability came to nought. This led to the king's destruction :

तदङ्गनासु चानेकापदेशपूर्वमपाचरन्नरेन्द्रः । तदन्तःपुरेषु चामी भिन्न-  
वृत्तेषु मन्दत्रासः बहुमुखैरवर्तन्त । सर्वश्च कुलांगनाजनः सुलभर्भंगिभाषणरता

1. Yāśastilaka, after I. 81

2. Ibid., pp. 56'57 etc.



भग्नचारित्र्यमन्त्रणस्तृणायापि न गणयित्वा भर्तृन्धातृगणमन्त्रणान्यशृणोत् ।  
तन्मूलाश्च कलहाः सामर्षाणामुद्भवन । अहन्यन्त दुर्बला बलिभिः अपहृतानि  
धनवतां धनानि तस्करादिभिः । अपहृतपरिभूतयः प्रहृताश्च पातकपथाः  
हृतबान्धवा हृतवित्ता वधबन्धातुराश्च मुक्तकण्ठमाक्रोशन्नुक्तकण्ठयः प्रजा ।

Ibid , Uttara Pīṭhikā, VIII. 23.

Such was the anarchy in country.

Kathāsaritsāgara, an other work of early medieval India, refers to *stri-vaira* (15/134).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa rightly asserts that woman was the root-cause of mutual jealousy and quarrel, for many people strive for one and the same woman :

सा त्वं नः स्पर्धमानानामेक वस्तुनि मानिनि ।  
ज्ञातीनां बद्धवैराणां शं विधत्स्व सुमध्यमे ॥

Bhāgavata P., VIII. 9. 6.

Thus the sovereignty and supremacy of woman (tvḍāyattam),<sup>1</sup> which caused conflicts and quarrel (kali)<sup>2</sup> has been styled mahāpratyūha.<sup>3</sup> Prabodha Chandrodaya, too, asserts :

संमोहयन्ति मदयन्ति बिडम्बयन्ति निभर्त्सयन्ति रमयन्ति विषादयन्ति ।  
एताः प्रविश्य सदयं हृदयं नराणां किं नाम वामनयना न समाचरन्ति ॥

Prabodha Ch, I. 27

It follows Prīthvīrāja Vijaya to ascribe our collapse to the vicious effect of kāmā (kāmā hatakena vañchitam jagata durātmanā)<sup>4</sup> supported by woman (nārīti nāma pradhānāstrām kāmasya)<sup>5</sup>— an ally of kāmā (kāmā subhṛido nāryām).<sup>6</sup>

The ancient thinkers and kings knew it well and Rishabha warned his sons, before his abdication and retirement to forest, that indulgence with women was a source of trouble; because

1. Rūpakashaṭkam, p 180 verse 5.

2. Ibid., p. 181.

3. Ibid., p. 183.

Cf. pp. 186.

4. Prabodha Ch., p. 142

5. Ibid, p. 147.

6. Ibid., lv. 13.



a man falling in the trap (pramāda) faces the path of vices (Bhāgavata P., V. 5.4. etc). Fate and divine forces help those who remain on the right track of duty, where as the friends and brothers desert one who is off the track :

प्रायः सुकृतिनामर्थे देवा यान्ति सहायताम् ।

अपन्थानं तु गच्छन्तं सोदरोऽपि विमुञ्चति ॥

Prabodha Ch., IV. 8.

Prithivīrāja Vijaya explicitly explains our national collapse due to the forces of kāma (passionate lust) and woman leading to mutual hostility (anyonya vaira)<sup>1</sup>. Prithivīrāja Rāso also warned Prithivīrāja :

गौरी रत्नौ तुअ घरणि, तूं गौरी रस रत्त ॥

अन्तिम युद्ध, ३९

Chanda warned his sovereign of his sensuous slumber with Saṁyogitā at a time, when his own beloved country was threatened by (Mubammad) Ghorī.

Thus it is true that woman was the real source of trouble ;

स्त्रीनामविषयो निदानेकस्य नापदाम् ।

Kathā. S S., 15-141.

Māgha's Śiśupālavadha also asserts women to be the main cause of great hostility, as the abduction of Rukmīṇī by Kṛishṇa turned Śiśupāla to enmity towards the former :

त्वया विप्रकृतश्चैद्यो रुक्मिणीहरता हरे ।

बद्धमूलस्य मूलं हि महद्वैरतरोः स्त्रियः ॥

Śiśupālavadha, II. 38.

It is for this reason that the consequences of pleasure and love haunting the mind of Prithivīrāja by the sight (picture) of Tilottamā left the minister in trouble. He thought, it was a severe mental agony which proved to be very harmful to the

1. P. v., vII. 25.



king.<sup>1</sup> Tilottamā thinking this state of king's mind had descended upon earth from heaven.<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Prithivīrāja Vijaya, too, woman proved to be a source of national calamity.

Tilottamā definitely standing as an upamān<sup>3</sup> for Śrī (i. e. Saṃyogitā) proved to be one of the main cause for the failure of Prithivīrāja III in the second battle of Tarain. Passion (kāma)<sup>4</sup> was stimulated by the system of polygamy.<sup>5</sup>

Rājatarāṅgiṇī (third Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Śrīvara Paṇḍita) clearly asserts that this mutual enmity led to the path of destruction (etadanyonya vairotho nāsoyām samupasthitah).<sup>6</sup> Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka refers to death caused by the lustful life associated with woman.<sup>7</sup>

According to Prithivīrāja Vijaya the Buddhism<sup>8</sup> was also one of the causes for the fall of Hindu power in India. Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa holds that "any Brāhmaṇa who enters the Buddhist monastery even in great distress, can in no way, not even by the hundreds of the religious acts of atonement, be expiated from the sin. For the Buddhists are irreligious due to their condemnation for the Vedas. Hence it is the canonical injunction that a Brāhmaṇa who has faith in the Vedas, should not even see the Buddhists. It again asserts that any Brāhmaṇa who enters a Buddhist monastery knowingly or unknowingly can not be atoned of the sin".<sup>9</sup> Somadeva Sūri also upholds the destructive influence of Buddhism upon the world (i. e. country) :

शाक्यशासन प्रमाणैरिव सकल जगच्छून्यतामानेतुं ।

प्रवृद्धिसहजैः सामजैः सह चिक्रीड ॥

Yaśastilaka, I. Āśvāsa, p. 31 (Nirṇaya  
Sāgara Press Edn, 1916).

1. P. V., III. 32.

2. Ibid., XII. 38.

3. Ibid., XII. 30.

4. Ibid., XII. 20.

5. Ibid., IX. 63, 64, 65; X. I, etc.

6. III Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I 612.

7. Yaśastilaka., I., p. 68.

8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, V. 5. 16.

9. Bṛhannāradiya P. XIV. 69, 70, 71.



As regards the Chauhānas' adherence to religion and śāstras, it was the heroic idealism deep rooted in the Kshatriyas or Rājapūtas. They thought it a sin to indulge in the false and deceptive tactics. They were true to their ideals,<sup>1</sup> which were dearer to them than their life and home. This true militarism against the treacherous tactics of Turushkas certainly helped in the national collapse.

The fourth argument that 'their failure to evolve a political and military system strong enough to fight and unite India against the invader,' cannot be said to have a grain of truth in the light of the political system of Prithvīrāja Vijaya discussed above.

As regards the evolution of federation in the 12th century A. D. it was new to the world, which, too, was based on the feudal system. Moreover evolution of any system cannot be abrupt and sudden. It takes some time. The thinkers of the age were themselves not unmindful of the federal system which was upheld for the good of country (Skanda P., VI. 27. 24).

As regards unity the medieval thinkers knew better and worked better with selfless spirit exhorting Kshatriyas to combine. Prithvīrāja Vijaya, as has been pointed above, itself asserts the importance of aikātmyam or unity.<sup>2</sup> The above discussion clearly shows that some of the general charges levelled against the Hindus of those days still stand. The consensus of opinion ascribes this national debacle, as we have seen, to the lack of patriotism and political consciousness. It is entirely baseless and irrelevant.

Dr. Majumdar observes that, "It is the duty of the historian to find out, as far as possible, the true facts on the basis of which alone we can pass a just verdict on the people and rulers of India who stand condemned before the bar of public opinion. Unfortunately, the historian is not in a position to discharge this duty. For no contemporary Indian ever thought fit to

1. Bṛihatkāthā Kośa, 84. 13.

2. P. V.. III. 3.



chronicle the events of that critical period, nor anyone in centuries immediately following cared to inquire into the circumstances which led to such a momentous change in the fortunes of his country.,<sup>1</sup> But I humbly submit to say, that like Prithvīrāja Vijaya, as discussed above, other works and authors of the epoch exhibited their eagerness to know the causes of the Hindu collapse, as the learned historian is himself anxious to unravel the mystery of the Turkish conquest of India. The Skanda Purāṇa<sup>2</sup> a work belonging to the 9th-12th centuries A. D. asks as to how this country had been occupied by the Muslims :

कथं म्लेच्छ समाकीर्णो देशोऽयं द्विजसत्तम ।

एतदाचक्ष्व मां ब्रह्मन् मार्कण्डेय महामते ॥

Rājataranṅiṇī, the Kāśmīra-chronicle, too, asserts that the country was filled with Muslims and it was due to the political and social evil of that country which stood at the gateway of India. Kathāsrīta Sāgara of Somadeva and Bṛihat-kathāmañjarī of Kshemendra exhibit the political consciousness among the thinkers of this frontier country to bring about a revolutionary change in the political as well as social life of the country. Somadeva Sūri, the reputed writer of Yaśastilaka and Nītivākyaṃṛita, stands as a great revolutionary thinker of early medieval India. For he discusses, in his ornate prose the evils or the vices (pratyūha-samūha) which brought to the country the fury and fire of the Tājikas, a source of misery and misfortune to the entire country...<sup>4</sup>

Kathā Sarit āgara also gives us a clear picture of Mlechchho-padrava (CXX-17), which caused trouble and terror in the country. It observes that the gods so afflicted went to Lord

1. Anc. India, Ch. VII, p. 331.

2. J. U. P. H. S., Vol. IX (1961), Part II, 'Skanda Purāṇa on the Collapse of Hindu Power-its causes,' discussed by me.

3. Sk P., V. III. 5. 14.

4. Yaśastilaka (N.S.P.), I, pp. 62, 114.



under the leadership of Indra and prayed (Kss, CXX 19-23) :

ये त्वया देव निहता अमुरा ये च विष्णुना ।  
ते जाता म्लेच्छरूपेण पुनरद्य महीतले ॥

Kathā S. S., CXX-19.

व्यापादयन्ति ते विघ्नान्घ्नन्ति यज्ञादिकाक्रियाः ।  
हरन्ति मुनिकन्याश्च पापाः किं किं न कुर्वन्ते ॥

Ibid., CXX-20.

भूलोकाद्देवलोकश्च शश्वदाप्यायते प्रभो ।  
ब्राह्मणैर्हुतमग्नौ हि हविस्तृप्त्यै दिवोक्तसाम् ॥

Ibid., CXX. 21.

म्लेच्छाक्रान्ते च भूलोके निर्वषट्कार मंगले ।  
यज्ञभागादिविच्छेदाद्देव लोकोऽवसीदति ॥

Ibid., CXX. 22.

यदुपायं कुरुष्वान्न त कंचिदवतारय ।  
प्रवीरं भूतले यस्तान्म्लेच्छानुत्सादयिष्यति ॥

Ibid., CXX., 23.

King Mahendrāditya consequently descended upon the earth at Ujjayinī and he is described to have destroyed the Mlechchhas devoted to the annihilation of the Vedic Dharma (K. S. S. CXX 27,28,29,78). Prithvirāja Vijaya has also depicted the true picture of the country and culture threatened by the Mlechchhas <sup>1</sup>

In the past Vikramāditya was created by the God as His own representative upon earth for the destruction of the Mlechchhas :—

त्वमादौ विक्रमादित्यः सुस्तोऽमूः स्वांशतो मया ।  
म्लेच्छरूपावतीर्णानामसुराणां प्रशान्तये ॥

K. S. S., XCIX. 33.

In the age under review Nāgabhaṭa, Chāhamāna and Prithvirāja etc. also are stated to be the incarnations of the God, who descended upon the earth with the same mission.

1. P. V, I. 48-50.



Thus we see that neither the thinkers were unaware of the imminent danger to the country nor the Kshatriyas deserted their post of responsibility at such a critical juncture. The Kshatriya consoles the Mother Earth :

क्षत्रियः सन्देशं स्वं त्वक्ष्यामि क्लीबवद्भ्यात् ।  
धीरा भवाम्ब कः शक्तो बराको मां प्रबाधितुम् ॥

K. S S., LXXIV. 64.

Chālukyas of Gujarat continuously fought against Tājikas and Turushkas, Garjanas and Ghoris. Mūlarāja assumed the title of conqueror of Garjanaka (i.e. Gaznavide ruler). "We again like to emphasise here that the inscriptions of Bhīma invariably give Mūlarāja the epithet of conqueror of Garjanakas etc ....."<sup>1</sup> Kārṇasundarī of Kāśmīrian poet, Bilhaṇa, refers to the conquest of Chālukyan army over Garjanapura (Gajjaṇa ṇaaram<sup>2</sup>=Gazni) in a great battle fought on the banks of Sindhu (Indus) :

गर्जनाधिपतिबलस्यास्मद्बलं सिन्धोरोधसि मिलितम् ॥

The Chālukyan commander of the royal forces takes pride in this conquest over Garjanakas (kṛitvā Garjanakā-dhirājamadhunā) which was in no way a mean achievement during the reign of king Kārṇa (Kārṇa Sundari, IV. 22). At this time Gaznavide power was on the wane. This short play also asserts the prime importance of a strong and unified state.<sup>4</sup>

Thus it is evident from what has been said on the basis of original sources, literary and epigraphic, that the Hindus did not enjoy any respite from the Muslim invasions which

1. Dr. A. K., Majumdar. Chālukyas of Gujrat, p. 133.

2. Kārṇasundarī, Act IV, p. 53.

3. Ibid., p. 54.

4. Ibid., IV. 23 :

दृष्टं देव्या किमपि भुवनाश्चर्यतत्त्वं महत्त्वं ।

लब्धा लक्ष्मीरिव मनसिजक्ष्माभुवः पक्ष्मलाक्षी ॥

एकच्छत्रं समजनि महीमण्डलं तत्प्रियं मे

किं स्यादस्मात्परमपि वरं यत्त याचे भवतः ॥

Cf. My paper in Indian History Congress, 1963, Poona-  
"Chālukyan Conquest of Garjanapura or Gazna."



continued unabated trying to penetrate into the heart of the country. It is also a sheer speculation devoid of cogent reasons that the country lacked political consciousness which alone infused a new spirit of resistance which held these world conquerors at bay. It is equally untenable that there was no sense of patriotism. The above observations exhibit that it was only *svadeśārāga* (devotion to this country) that her defenders viz., the Kshatriyas sacrificed their every thing at the altar of this sacred land, but they did not desert it—why should one hesitate in sacrificing oneself for the good of motherland. *Kāthāsarit Sāgara* asserts that even a worst motherland is held in respect and devotion, love and sacrifice (KSS, LII. 189), what to say of, then, the country like *Bhāratavarsha* so highly eulogised by the gods. It is thus the highest sense of patriotism, which any race can boast of, towards its mother-land. It was this sense of love and devotion towards this country that a long war of liberation was fought for centuries, unabated.

It is thus evident that the country before the advent of Muslim rule in India did not suffer from the absence of patriotism or political consciousness. There are numerous references, as we have seen above, relating to the Hindu war of resistance and these works seem to discuss the evils of the contemporary political system with their suggestions for the improvement of society and people. Thus we conclude, according to *Prithvīrāja Vijaya* supplemented and supported by the other evidences, that there were two great demoniac forces viz., '*Vairānala*'<sup>1</sup> and '*Rāgānala*'<sup>2</sup>, based on '*Vilāsavihāra*'.<sup>3</sup>

Our fine country (*ayam rūchiro deśaḥ*)<sup>4</sup>, conceived as a charming lotus<sup>5</sup>, was threatened by the contact of *Mlechchhas*,<sup>1</sup>

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, III. i. 618 (cf. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, III. i. 600 to 650).

2. *Daśakumāra Charita*, Uttara 7-8,9.

3. *Ibid.*, Uttara 7-10; '*Yogavasishṭha*', Uttar, VI. 71. 19 (*rāgaroga*)

4. *Matsya*, P., CXXXVII. 18.

5. *Ibid.*, CLXIX. 3 (ii).

*Ibid.*, p. CLXIX. 4 (i).



who had occupied the western and northern frontiers of our country.<sup>2</sup> The entire frontiers of the country were occupied by the Mlechchhas<sup>3</sup> styled Tājikas<sup>4</sup> and Turushkas.<sup>5</sup> Thus the Tājikas and Turushkas, the Sīmānta-śatrus occupying the frontier regions of our country grew so powerful that a terrible war<sup>6</sup> on the frontiers near Kāśmīra was fought and the kingdom of Kāśmīra was first to face the tide of the Turushkas after the fall of Sind. The rulers of Kāśmīra like Lalitāditya Mukatāpīḍa and Trilochanapāla etc. were not unconscious of the dangers. But the political system of Kāśmīra was suffering from many ills,<sup>7</sup> which are repeatedly mentioned with a sigh by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The important ones were :—

(1) Tyranny of the rulers (R. T., I. 88),<sup>8</sup>  
Maladministration (R. T., I. 274),<sup>9</sup> Durnīti, (R. T. VIII. 2962).

1. Matsya P., CLXIX. 11.
2. Vāmana P., XIII 11 (ii).  
Ibid., XIII. 12 (i),  
Ibid. XLVII-34.  
K. S. S., CLXIX 35.
3. Matsya P., CXIV 11.
4. K. S. S., XXXVII 36.
5. Ibid., XXXVII 37,40,41.
6. Y. V., Uttarārdha, VI. 156. 10.
7. R. T., II. 36 :

मग्ना दारुणे व्यसनार्णवे... ।

8. Ibid , I. 88 :

ये प्रजापीडनपरास्ते विनश्यन्तिसान्वयाः ।

Ibid , T. 159, etc.

Ibid., VII. 100, 1595.

9. Ibid , I. 274 :

दुर्णयेन क्षयं ययौ

Ibid., II. 665 :

राज्यं दुर्णयं दूषितं

Ibid., VII. 170.

Ibid., II. 596.



- (3) Mutual fight and quarrel (III R. T., I. 566).<sup>1</sup>
- (4) Negligence and the treachery of the dear ones.<sup>2</sup>
- (5) Dissension and disunity (bhedabhīti)<sup>3</sup> or kalaha.<sup>4</sup>
- (6) Treachery of the ministers,<sup>5</sup> officials,<sup>6</sup> and queens.
- (7) Dualism (dvairājyam).<sup>7</sup>
- (8) Woman—*nārī charitra viplavaḥ* !<sup>8</sup> and
- (9) *Kāma-rāga*.<sup>9</sup>

1. R. T., VI. 360.

Ibid., VII. 262.

Ibid., VII. 2729.

Ibid., VII. 385.

Ibid., VII. 398, 399, 401, 405, 476 to 490, 1074, 1364.

Ibid., VII. 410 (1644, 1845)

Ibid., VIII. 2067.

2. Ibid., VII. 51.

Ibid., VII. 100.

3. Ibid., VII. 489.

4. Ibid., VIII. 3348.

5. Ibid., VII. 1139 :

कुर्मन्त्रिभिः ;

Ibid., VII. 1191 :

दुष्टमन्त्रिणा ;

Ibid., VII. 1728.

Ibid., VII. 2067.

Ibid., VIII. 2729.

Ibid., VIII. 2916 :

अमात्यमतिदोषेण भूयः प्रादुष्कृतांकुरः

Ibid., VIII. 3008 :

अमात्यमतिजाड्येन नष्टे कृत्येऽथ ।

6. Ibid., VII. 149, 1238 Kāyasthas.

Ibid., IV. 351, 352—Kāyasthas were the source of Prajā-  
bhāgyaviparyayaḥ.

Ibid., VIII. 80, 88, 90, 110, 113.

7. Ibid., VIII. 7.

8. Ibid., VII. 1145, 1146.

Ibid., VII. 425, 430.

9. Ibid., VII. 3018.



(10) Nīti-vyatikrama.<sup>1</sup>(11) Mantra-sūnya śaurya<sup>2</sup> i. e. valour devoid of political foresight (nīti-driśā)<sup>3</sup>**Prajā-viplava**

Tyranny of the rulers and officials leading to maladministration stirred the people's heart to agony and frustration which further aggravated their feelings against the tyrants. It thus, in course of time, led to the peoples' opposition and dislike (lokasya viplavam),<sup>4</sup> popular confusion and anarchy (prājā-viplava),<sup>5</sup> as well as peoples' arrogance and risings (prakṛityutseka).<sup>6</sup> Thus the disaster and calamity in the country (rājya-viplava)<sup>7</sup> was the result of people's unrest (prajāpāpa vipāka). It was considered better to have no ruler than to have tyrant.<sup>8</sup> Hence the kings were reminded of the ancient ideal of administration :

आत्मेवकच्चितसुकृती क्षितीशः प्रजाप्रियास्यप्रकृतिर्यथैव ।

तत्सौख्यवृद्ध्या सुखिता तदीय दुःखेन च दुःखयुक्ता ॥

III. R. T., II. 245.

This is the traditional ideal of Hindu monarchy as was upheld by Kauṭilya :

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां हिते हितम् ।

नात्यप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥

**Maladministration**

Rulers, queens, ministers and officials were the sources of troubles to the people. Thus it was (durnaya' or 'durnīti'

1. R. T., VII. 135.

2. Ibid, VII. 219.

3. Ibid., VII. 224.

4. Ibid., VII. 212.

5. Ibid., IV. 715.

6. Ibid., VII. 2067.

7. Ibid., VIII. 434, 336.

8. II R. T. 723 :

अराजकं वरं राज्यं न स्वामी तादृशः पुनः ।

आभूषणौ वरं कणौ न पुनर्लोहकुण्डलम् ॥



i. e. bad policy of the government, which alienated people from their own state and government. Kingship (pārthivendratā) was mainly based on valour (śauryāśrayaḥ) by which, its enemies could be destroyed<sup>1</sup> and the political unification or the overlordship of the country (Jigāya jaitra yātrābhirmahīmarnavamekhlām).<sup>2</sup> A king was expected, then, to carry on the administration with the help of seven prakrities viz, a judge (dharmādhyaksha) treasurer (dhanādhyaksha), superintendent of treasury (koshādhyaksha), commender-in-chief (chamūpati), ambassador (dūta) priest (purodhā) and astrologer (daivajña)<sup>3</sup> as well as eighteen offices of public administration and law; and it was with the help of this governmental machinery that a king could administer the state in accordance with law and piety. This rule of pious law and paternal love (prajānām)<sup>4</sup> has been styled as Yaudhishtīrīsthitih<sup>5</sup> i. e. Dharma-rājya based on the principles of Rājadharmā. Such an ideal state of happiness was rare depending on the good fortune as well as on the pious deeds<sup>6</sup> of the people. But the rulers were reminded of their impending doom due to peoples' misery.<sup>7</sup> There was in Kāśmīra, the gateway of India, a great political confusion (mahānārthā paramparā),<sup>8</sup> and ghora janakshaya,<sup>9</sup> famines (ghora durbhiksha viplava),<sup>10</sup> selfishness (svātma poshaṇam),<sup>11</sup>

1. R.T., I. 89.

2. Ibid., I. 115.

3. Ibid., I. 98.

4. Ibid., I. 98.

5. Ibid., I. 120 :

कर्मस्थानानि धर्म्याणि तेनाष्टा दशकुर्वता  
ततः प्रभृति भूपेन कृता यौधिष्ठिरी स्थितिः ॥

6. Ibid., I. 187.

7. Ibid., 188.

8. Ibid., I. 198.

9. Ibid., I. 267.

10. Ibid., II. 20.

11. Ibid., II 25.

12. Ibid., VII. 275.



crookedness (kauṭilya) <sup>12</sup> siliness (maudhyam) <sup>1</sup> and wickedness of kings, <sup>1</sup> and princes (kumārānām pradushtatā). <sup>3</sup>

Kings were so morally degraded and sensuous that they did not hesitate in seizing by force the wives of their subjects. What more can be the violation of law (nītyatikrama) than such an act of violence? <sup>4</sup> Princes of the same house were hostile to one another. <sup>5</sup> Ministers were corrupt, ambitious and crooked. Above all the kāyasthas also harassed the people. Such was the political confusion and administrative anarchy, that people were antagonised to the ruler; the ministers as well as feudatories desired their separate dominions like thieves; and in such conditions of feudal anarchy, kings could not escape calamity in the absence of fiances. <sup>6</sup> Thus people were really afflicted by the tyrannical rule and Kalhaṇa asserts that the furious fire of the people's wrath hastened the fall of the country : <sup>7</sup>

प्रजापीडनसन्तापसमुद्भूतो हुताशनः ।

राज्ञः कुलं श्रियं प्राणान्नादग्ध्वा विनिवर्तते ॥

Next then, the dissensions, enmities, jealousy, pride and selfishness <sup>8</sup> leading to mutual wars sapped the lifeblood of the country. In such an environment of mutual distrust and dissensions, the instigations of the wicked (khalachodanā) <sup>9</sup> also hastened the rapid collapse of Kāśmīra. Kalhaṇa observes

1. R.T. VII. 1469.

2. Ibid., VIII. 2012 :

धूर्तो नृपो मुग्धः.....।

3. Ibid., VII. 1539 :

4. Ibid., IV. 29 :

यत्र दारापहरणं राजैव कुरुते विशं ।

परः को नाम तथास्तु शमिनानीत्यतिक्रमे ॥

5. Ibid., III. R.T., I. 637.

6. Ibid., VIII. 7.

7. Ibid., VII. 1595.

8. Ibid., II. 514. Īrshyāvisha.

Ibid., II., 522 : dvesha.

Ibid., VIII. 162.mātsarya.

Ibid., VIII., 532 : droha.

Ibid., VIII. 29 to 77 : svārthāndhya.

9. II. R.V., 494.



that the sanctity of the land was destroyed by the treachery (droha) and even the clouds refused to wash the earth of its evils by means of rains.<sup>1</sup> Thus 'vairi-bhīti' caused a great calamity upon the earth, suffering from the loss of life and light due to drought.<sup>2</sup>

### Mantra-Viplava

It had been stated by many contemporary political thinkers that the conduct and counsel of the ministers was responsible for the rise or fall of a king and his state. Somadeva Sūri in his Yaśastilaka observes that Chāṇakya placed Chandra Gupta Maurya on the throne and made him a paramount ruler in the country with its full strength and stability, where as Duryodhana had to lose his life, position of paramouncy, and empire because of the bad counsel of his ministers.<sup>3</sup>

Modern historians<sup>4</sup> are also, very much, in the habit of lamenting the absence of such paramount rulers as Chandra Gupta Maurya. But it was not Chandra Chupta Maurya, but Chāṇakya who was the author of the political revolution in Punjab and Magadha after the devastation of the sacred land by the Alexandrian forces. It was Chāṇakya, the teacher of political philosophy at Taxila, the scene of action, that the astute statesman and politician observed the impending deluge after the Greek invader's return. Alexander died in the way, but his lieutenant Seleukos Niketor came to fulfil his master's plans. But during this short period Chāṇakya had turned weak and divided India into a solid rock of strength and stability against which the great invader struck his head hard to cede the four satrapies of his empire to Chandra Gupta Maurya. Chāṇakya had also destroyed the unpopular rule at Magadha and so also he guided as well as goaded Chandra Gupta to attain the exalted position of paramount sovereignty. But it could all be achieved because of the selfless devotion

1. R. T., VII. 1644.

2. Ibid., VII. 1645.

3. Yaśastilaka, III. 243.

4. Smith, E. H. I, IV Edn., p. 371.



and strong determination of Chāṇakya as well as inalienable faith, devotion and sense of duty, Chandra Gupta treasured in his heart for his teacher. Mudrārākshasa is nothing but an illustration of the idea of Somadeva regarding the vighaṭana (disintegration) and integration (saṅghaṭana) of the country, which could be achieved only by the faithful devotion of the ruler towards his conscientious minister (Guru-Purodhā). There were, in the country, many Chandra Guptas like Nāgabhaṭa (I & II) Mihirabhoja, Mahendra Pāla, Gaṇḍa-Dhaṅga, Bhoja Paramāra. Kumārapāla, Govind Chandra and Prithivīrāja III, the Bhāratesvara. But Brāhmaṇa-ministers, usually, had now ceased to act as the mentors and the censors of the ruling power. They were, mostly, now accustomed to flattery (chāṭūkti). On the other hand, there were such sincere and honest ministers like Rudrāditya, minister of Muṇja (Paramāra ruler) who did not stay to see the suicidal fall of his patron, unmindful of his warnings. Thus the arrogance of the rulers was also an important factor which forced ministers to think otherwise.

Rājatarāṅginī, however, repeatedly refers to the fall of the Kauravas led by Duryodhana due to the poisonous counsel of his ministers.

#### **Patriotic appeal for national unity**

"India's general defence policy was to defend her borders to the best of her ability. .... The strongest shield or weapon of defence for India, Mr. Menon continued, would be for her to generate a policy of unity and stability in the country. 'India time and again, lost her freedom, not because the conquerors were strong, but because the country was riven with dissensions. There was lack of solidarity, which paved way for the country's utter ruin. It is a part of wisdom that each and every one should realize that our external position depended on the internal condition. No country can defend itself, unless the people were patriotic and realised their responsibilities. In the context of defence, it is most essential that our internal strength should be the greater'.<sup>1</sup> Similar

1. Sri V. K. Krishna Menon—former Defence Minister, Govt. of India, quoted from Hindustan Times, Sunday, August 5, 1962, p. 12.



was also the urgency a thousand years ago. There were many characteristics and channels through which the current of Hindu patriotism is exhibited flowing to stimulate the spirit of patriotism in the hearts of the people as well as the princes.

“There can be no doubt that a naturally defined territory of geographical unity, often described by the name ‘homeland’ is a powerful tie in the formation of nationality. Several exceptions to this statement may, however, be found. For ages the Jews have had no national home of their own. Yet the hope that some day Palestine will be restored to them has kept alive and given strength to the Jewish nationality..... Where there is no national home or no hope of securing one it is difficult to acquire or develop the spirit of nationality..... Natural boundaries thus play a very important part in the evolution and continuance of nationality.. .. . Naturally marked geographical boundaries are an immense aid to nationality, owing to various reasons. In the first place geography and climate have a definite bearing upon the character and physique of a people. They tend to create common physical, mental, psychological traits, thereby aiding co-operation and mutual understanding upon people.....”<sup>1</sup> The conception of India’s inherent unity has been developed through the ages on the basis of undivided India stretching from Kāśmīra to Cape Comorin as a single country. Its unity is writ large on its map. Mountain-guarded in the north and sea-girt in the south, India has been planned by Nature as an indisputable geographical unit sharply isolated from the world outside by natural boundaries forming formidable barriers to intercourse with foreign countries”.<sup>2</sup> The medieval Hindu works as well as epigraphs uphold the unity of our homeland with special stress on its sanctity and superiority as compared with the other countries of the world.

Lalitāditya of Kāśmīra, mentioned as sārvaabhauma ruler, is also stated to have conquered the eastern country extending

1. Political Theory (Supplement) by Asirvatham, pp. 666-667.

2. Glimpses of Ancient India, p. 99.



upto Pūrvasāgara' and Gauḍa-maṇḍala, and south (Dakṣiṇā-patha),<sup>2</sup> upto Kāverī,<sup>3</sup> Pāṇḍya<sup>4</sup> and the Southern sea.<sup>5</sup> Then he turned to the west<sup>6</sup> comprising Koṅkaṇa and reached Dwāarakā on the Western coast.<sup>7</sup> He also conquered Avanti with its capital at Ujjayinī<sup>8</sup> and Uttarāpatha<sup>9</sup> upto Kamboja<sup>10</sup> (the hilly region), Bhūkhāra-hills<sup>11</sup> (the hilly region known as Bhokhara), Bhauṭṭa (Bhutan),<sup>12</sup> Darada (Daradistan),<sup>13</sup> Prāgjyotishapura (Gauhati),<sup>14</sup> Strīrājya<sup>15</sup> (some Himalayan state) and Uttara Kuru.<sup>16</sup> Thus the ideal of Chakravartī (pada) was realised by the Kāśmīrian ruler in the 8th century A. D., when Turushkas<sup>17</sup> were trying to extend their sway in the country.

Thus in such critical times, the question of unity in the country had assumed an urgency. Hence the medieval thinkers have asserted the traditional geographical unity of Bhārata-varsha. It was still conceived as a Chakravartīkshetra called 'sea-girt land' (mahīmarnavamekhalām)<sup>18</sup> and 'Yaudhishtīrī sthiti',<sup>19</sup> attained after conquest, represents the highest ideal of

1. R. T., IV. 147.
2. Ibid., IV. 153.
3. Ibid., IV. 156.
4. Ibid., IV. 157.
5. Ibid., IV. 158, 159.
6. Ibid., III. 159 :
7. Ibid., IV. 161.
8. Ibid., IV. 163.
9. Ibid., IV. 164.
10. Ibid., IV. 166.
11. Ibid., IV. 167.
12. Ibid., IV. 169.
13. Ibid., IV. 170.
14. Ibid., IV. 172.
15. Ibid., IV. 174, 175.
16. Ibid., IV. 176.
17. Ibid., I. 180.
18. Ibid., I. 115.
19. Ibid., I. 120.



unity and devotion to this sacred land which was held dear to heart by all, as we know from the great Epic. Thus we find that the entire country as a single geographical unit had not been lost sight of and this conception of geographical unity strengthened the forces of national integration. For, observes Asirvatham, that, "the country is the suitable geographical unit for the calling out of the highest patriotic feelings".<sup>2</sup>

The entire sacred land was a coveted field of political enterprise and religious sanctity to the rulers of medieval India.<sup>3</sup>

For it was believed to be Rāja-Chakra (or Chakravartī kshetra)<sup>4</sup> and the kshatriya rulers aspired to conquer it. Thus the kings were devoted to earth (dharānuraktā)<sup>5</sup> which they strove to free from the furious foes. Though there were many defects in the political system of the country associated with the Middle Ages, yet the contemporary records do not admit the absence of patriotism which inspired them to put up a stubborn resistance to the world conquerors.

Geographical unity and the national ideals, which bound the princes to the land, also paved way for national unity. There was a vigorous attempt to restore sanctity of the land destroyed by Kalikuñjara.

In the case of Prithivīrāja, too, he was admonished for his conduct by his brother-in-law. But he had strong determination to attack the forces of Mohammad Ghorī during his invasion upon Gujarat (1178 A. D.) and his minister committed a great mistake in checking his youthful patron from a daring dash upon the country's scourge. The learned

1. Navasari plates of Pulakeśīrāja, (Kalachuri) year 490=739 A. C., C. I. I. Vol. IV., p. 140.

2. Political Theory 'Supplement', p. 668-69.

3. Rewa Stone Ins. of Karṇa, year, 800, C. I. I., IV., p. 269, verse 13 (1049 A. C.) :  
Cf. Ibid., p. 286, verse 10.

4. Ibid., p. 306, verse 2.

5. Ibid., p. 328, verse 13.



minister Kadambavāsa failed to assess the danger for he so underestimated Mohammad Ghori (P. V., X. 4). The minister still took the narrow view of the relations between Gujarat and Ajmer. Instead of healing the wounds between the two neighbouring states of India to face a common danger, he still held Gujarat and Ghori on the equal level (P. V., XI. 5).

The minister failed to realise what the poet-statesman Māna observes :

जहाँ बैर तहं बैर बहु मेल तहाँ बहु मेल ।

Rajav, IX. 60.

which is the old maxim.

नहिं वैरेण वैराणि शाम्यन्ति

Prithivīrāja III, the Bhāratesvara, was fully prepared for the task (P. V., X. 42). Unmindful of Prithivīrāja's dedication to the task of destroying the demoniac people (Mlechchhas), Mohammad Ghori sent a messenger to Ajmer.

Thus the tactful Ghori was trying to neutralise the forces of Ajmer dreaded by him, when he sought a truce with the Chāhamāna ruler. Here Mohammad Ghori was following the shrewd policy well preached by ancient thinkers of our land, where as Kadambavāsa failed to take a note of warning :

अथवा पूर्व वैरं त्वं स्मरन् कालं जिहीषसि ।

पश्य दुष्कृत कर्मस्त्वं व्यक्तमायुः क्षयं तव ,।

Śānti Parva, CXXXVII. 104.

and also the basic principle of diplomacy was ignored :

नहिं कश्चित् कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित् कस्यचिद्रिपुः ।

अर्थतस्तु निबद्धयन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥

Ibid., CXXXVII. 110; etc.

i. e. There is no such thing as a foe. There is no such thing in existence as a friend. It is force of circumstances that creates friends and foes; friends and foes arise from the consideration of interest and gain. As elephants are captured in the forests with the help of other trained elephants". Thus the circumstances dictated upon Kadambavāsa to change his attitude and policy but he failed unfortunately. Thus it is clear that the



country lacked Chāṇakya and not Chandra Gupta in the age under review.

An other factor which is responsible for the defeat of Prithivīrāja as well as for the collapse of Hindu power is our hero's indulgence with Saṁyogitā, a newly wedded queen and due to it, his indifference towards the determined enemy like Mohammada Ghorī as we are told that "those, who after making their enemies bitterly hostile are careless, are fated to meet the doom :

विधाय वैरं सामर्षे नरोऽरो य उदासते ।

प्रक्षिप्यौदचिषं कक्षे शेरते तेऽभिमारुतम् ॥

Śiśupālavadha, II. 42.

Garuḍa Purāṇa also holds the same view that "He who rests confident after having made a reconciliation with his enemy, is sure to fall one day like a man who peacefully reposes on a tree-top :

वैरिणा सहसन्धाय विश्वस्तो यदि तिष्ठति ।

स वृक्षाग्रे प्रसुप्तोहि पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥

Garuḍa p. I. 114 48

and so also the Epic states :

योऽरिणा सह संधाय शयीत कृतकृत्यवत् ।

स वृक्षाग्रे यथा सुप्तः पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते ॥

Ādi Parva, CXXXIX 75

Does it not remind us of the sensuous slumber of the Chāhamāna emperor ?<sup>1</sup>

It was thus the Fate, cruel and cold, by which the country was benumbed. Rāshṭra-bhishags were trying hard to remedy the ills of the body-politic, but it was all in vain for the present:

किमौषधपथातिगैरुपहतोमहाव्याधिभिः ।

1. Cf. J.U.P.H.S., vol. X (New Series), Part 1, 1962  
pp. 139—142: a paper entitled, Garuḍa Purāṇa on the Turkish Conquest of India.







## APPENDIX

## THE END OF PRITHIVĪRĀJA III

The end of Prithivīrāja III is controversial (E. Ch. D. pp. 86-88; H. Ch., pp. 204—209). His death is a mystery like the one of our own age (that of Subhash Chandra Bose). It is believed that Prithivīrāja tried to escape on a horse, but... overtaken in the neighbourhood of Sarasvat (Dr. Sharma, E. Ch. D., p 86). So far it is acceptable. "The Chāhamāna monarch, on the other hand, who was an inveterate enemy of the Musalmans, was obviously not prepared to accept the overlordship of the Sultan. He preferred death to serfdom ; but, as long as he was alive, he might have endeavoured to overthrow the rule of Sultan, who, therefore, took the safest course to put an end to his life in prison" (Dr. R. B Singh, Hist. Ch., p. 209). It is true that he could not accept the vassalage of Mlechchha-Mātaṅga, whose very contact was abhorred (katham Mātaṅga saṅgo me nyāyya, PV., XI. 11). Dr. Sharma asserts that "Muslim as well as Hindu historians bear incontestable testimony to the fact that valiant Chauhāns knew well how to die and sell their lives dear. Many a time they fought on even when there was least chance of success, because they considered it disgraceful to surrender or to flee (E. Ch. D., p. 321)." Prithivīrāja escaped to escape the disgrace or death at the hands of a Mlechchha. It was the only way left open to Bhāratesvara, an incarnation of Rāma :

विपत्सु च कुलीनानां वियोगेषु च धीमताम् ।

पराजये च शूराणां वृत्तिरेका तपोवनम् ॥

Bṛihat Kathā Mañjarī, XVII. 35.

Prithivīrāja Vijaya makes no secret of it :

त्वयापि कामं कलिकाल रात्रौ निद्राविधेयत्वमुपागतेन ।

केशान्घनान्गजित भीरुणैव हित्वा स्थितं शान्ततया जिनत्वे ॥

PV., 1.45.

कलाधमुष्मिन्विरतोद्यमेषु क्रतुक्रियायां द्विजमण्डलेषु ।

भोगे हविर्भागमये समाप्ते जातो भृशं मन्दबलस्मुरेन्द्रः ॥

Ibid., I. 46.



इज्याभिघातादभिभूयते भूः कलावनावृष्टि महाभयेन ।  
इत्युद्यमं पावकनन्दनस्य निषेधति क्षीणमदो मयूरः ॥  
Ibid., I. 47.

उत्तेजितं रामतया कुलं यदुद्वेजितं तद्भवता जिनत्वे ।  
इत्यन्वयं स्वं प्रति संदिहानो मन्दप्रभस्सूरिरिवाद्य सूर्यः ॥  
Ibid., I. 48.

त्वया हरे तापसतामुपेत्य सख्ये गृहीते हरिणैरिदानीम् ।  
निवासभूमिर्मम पुष्करं तदास्कन्दि मातङ्गमहाभयेन ॥  
Ibid., I. 49.

The poet and the people still believed that Prithivīrāja, Rāma incarnate, alone could bring deliverance to them :

उपयास्यति भूमिपाल भावकलिकाले दशकन्धराततायी ।  
इति निश्चलनिश्चयो यदासौ भयिता सम्भविता तदास्य मुक्तिः ॥  
PV., VII. 6.

It is with this faith that the poet made entreaties—

उत्तिष्ठमाने त्वयि माननीय शंकास्पदं कस्य कलिर्वराकः ।  
न हि त्रिलोकी भयभञ्जनार्थं तवोद्यमे द्वापरमप्यवैमि ॥  
PV., I. 47.

But the hero was enjoying the blessings of solitude—hermitage, his state—and Rājarshi would not leave it :

चक्रे राज्याश्रमपदमुनेस्संनिधानेस्य सत्त्वै—  
वैरत्यागस्वयमिति दिशः किंवदन्त्या भ्रमन्त्या ।

यस्मिञ्जन्म प्रभृति भगवान् सन्निधत्तेस्मरारि—  
स्स्थातुं वाङ्छामकृत हृदये तत्र तस्य स्मरोपि ॥

Jonarāja comments— PV., XI. 105.

“राज्यमेवाश्रमपदं तत्र मुने राजर्षेः पृथिवीराजस्य संनिधाने सत्त्वैः प्राणिभिर्वैर त्यागः कृत इति वार्तया भ्रमन्त्या हेतुभूतया यत्र चेतसि स्मरारिस्संनिहिता स्मरोपि तत्र चेतसि स्थातुं संनिधानमकरोत् ।”

It was the real conquest of a Śura :

बलेन परराष्ट्राणि गृह्णन् शूरस्तु नोच्यते ।  
जितो येनेन्द्रियग्रामः स शूरः कथ्यते बुधैः ॥

Dakṣa Smṛiti, VII. 18.

Thus is fully justified the title of this great poetic work styled Prithvirāja vijaya—

PV., I. 30.

कवेस्स तत्त्वं कवि रेव वेद ।

The poet echoes the sentiments of the nation, but the hero went undeterred on the path, eternal, thinking—

अस्थिरेण शरीरेण स्थिरं कर्म समाचरेत् ।

Garuḍa P., II. 35390



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